ANCIENT INDIA

AS DESCRIBED BY

MEGASTHENES AND ARRIAN;

BEING

A TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE INDIKA OF
MEGASTHENES COLLECTED BY DR. SCHWAMBECK, AND
OF THE FIRST PART OF THE INDIKA OF ARRIAN,

BY

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WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND MAP OF ANCIENT
INDIA.

Revised (with additions) from the "India
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PREFACE.

The account of India written by Megasthenes from his personal knowledge of the country is justly held to be almost invaluable for the light which it throws upon the obscurity of early Indian history. Though, unfortunately, not extant in its original form, it has nevertheless been partially preserved by means of epitomes and quotations to be found scattered up and down the writings of various ancient authors, both Greek and Roman. Dr. Schwanbeck, of Bonn, rendered historical literature a good service by collecting and arranging in their proper order these detached fragments. The work thus reconstructed, and entitled *Megasthenis Indica*, has now been before the world for upwards of thirty years. It has not, however, so far as I know, been as yet translated, at least into our language, and hence it is but little known beyond the circles of the learned. The translation now offered, which goes forth from the very birthplace of the original work, will therefore for the first time place it within the reach of the general public.
A translation of the first part of the *Indica* of Arrian has been subjoined, both because it gives in a connected form a general description of India, and because that description was based chiefly on the work of Megasthenes.

The notes, which turn for the most part on points of history, geography, archaeology, and the identification of Greek proper names with their Sanskrit originals, sum up the views of the best and most recent authorities who have written on these subjects. This feature of the work will, I hope, recommend it to the attention of native scholars who may be pursuing, or at least be interested in, inquiries which relate to the history and antiquities of their own country.

In the spelling of classical proper names I have followed throughout the system of Grote, except only in translating from Latin, when the common orthography has been employed.

In conclusion, I may inform my readers that I undertook the present work intending to follow it up with others of a similar kind, until the entire series of classical works relating to India should be translated into the
language of its rulers. In furtherance of this design a translation of the short treatise called *The Circumnavigation of the Erythraean Sea*, which gives an account of the ancient commerce of Egypt, Arabia, and India, is nearly ready for publication, and this will be followed by a translation of the narratives of the Makedonian Invasion of India as given by Arrian and Curtius in their respective Histories of Alexander.
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TRANSLATION

OF THE

FRAGMENTS OF THE INDIKA

OF MEGASTHENES.

COLLECTED BY

Dr. E. A. SCHWANBECK · BONN, 1846.
THE FRAGMENTS OF THE INDIKA
OF MEGASTHENES.

INTRODUCTION.

The ancient Greeks, till even a comparatively late period in their history, possessed little, if any, real knowledge of India. It is indeed scarcely so much as mentioned by name in their greatest poets, whether epic, lyric, or dramatic. They must, however, have known of its existence as early as the heroic times, for we find from Homer that they used even then articles of Indian merchandise, which went among them by names of Indian origin, such as kassiteros, tin, and elephas, ivory. But their conception of it, as we gather from the same source, was vague in the extreme. They imagined it to be an Eastern Ethiopia which stretched away to the utmost verge of the world, and which, like the Ethiopia of the West, was inhabited by a race of men whose visages were scorched black by the

* Kassiteros represents the Sanskrit kasitera, ‘tin,’ a metal found in abundance in the islands on the coast of India; and elephas is undoubtedly connected with bibhas, the Sanskrit name for the domestic elephant—its initial syllable being perhaps the Arabic affix.
fierce rays of the sun.† Much lies in a name, and
the error made by the Greeks in thus calling India
Ethiopia led them into the further error of con-
sidering as pertinent to both those countries
narrations, whether of fact or fiction, which con-
cerned but one of them exclusively. This explains
why we find in Greek literature mention of peculiar
or fabulous races, both of men and other animals,
which existed apparently in duplicate, being repre-
sented sometimes as located in India, and sometimes
in Ethiopia or the countries thereto adjacent.‡ We
can hardly wonder, when we consider the distant and
sequestered situation of India, that the first con-
ceptions which the Greeks had of it should have
been of this nebulous character, but it seems some-

† See Homer, Od. I. 23-24, where we read

Ἀθίοπες, τοι δὲ δίδυμοι διδωλαρος, ἑσχυνοι ἀνθρώπων,
Οἶδον δυσομίσθιον Υμελούνοι αἱ Βάνδοῖτος.

(The Ethiopians, who are divided into two, and live at the
world’s end—one part of them towards the setting sun, the
other towards the rising.) Herodotus in several passages
mentions the Eastern Ethiopians, but distinguishes them
from the Indians (see particularly bk. vii. 70). Ktesias,
however, who wrote somewhat later than Herodotus, fre-
quently calls the Indians by the name of Ethiopians, and
the final discrimination between the two races was not made
till the Macedonian invasion gave the Western world more
correct views of India. Alexander himself, as we learn
from Strabo, on first reaching the Indus mistook it for
the Nilo.

‡ Instances in point are the Skiapodes, Kymamoloi,
Pyrasdi, Deyli, Himantopolis, Sternopthalmoi, Ma-
lodai, and the Makrocephaloi, the Marikebon, and the
Krobozai.
what remarkable that they should have learned hardly anything of importance regarding it from the expeditions which were successively undertaken against it by the Egyptians under Sehosiris, the Assyrians under Semiramis, and the Persians first under Kyros and afterwards under Dareios the son of Hystaspes. § Perhaps, as Dr. Robertson has observed, they disclaimed, through pride of their own superior enlightenment, to pay attention to the transactions of people whom they considered as barbarians, especially in countries far remote from their own. But, in whatever way the fact may be accounted for, India continued to be to the Greeks little better than a land of mystery and fable till the times of the Persian wars, when for the first time they became distinctly aware of its existence. The first historian who speaks clearly of it is Hekataios of Mileos (n.c. 549-486).||

§ Hekatæos mentions that Dareios, before invading India, sent Skythax the Karystian on a voyage of discovery down the Indus, and that Skythax accordingly, setting out from Kaspotryas and the Paktiakan district, reached the mouth of that river, whence he sailed through the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea, performing the whole voyage in thirty months. A little work still extant, which briefly describes certain countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa, bears the name of this Skythax, but from internal evidence it has been inferred that it could not have been written before the reign of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great.

|| The following names pertaining to India occur in Hekataios—the Indus; the Opis, a race on the banks of the Indus; the Kallitian, an Indian race; Kaspatryas, a Hordic city; Arnavats, a city of India; the Sinaquata, and probably the Paphia.
and fuller accounts are preserved in Herodotus, and in the remains of Ktesias, who, having lived for some years in Persia as private physician to King Artaxerxes Mucênû, collected materials during his stay for a treatise on India, the first work on the subject written in the Greek language. His descriptions were, unfortunately, vitiated by a large intermixture of fable, and it was left to the followers of Alexander to give to the Western world for the first time fairly accurate accounts of the country and its inhabitants. The great conqueror, it is well known, carried scientific men with him to chronicle his achievements, and describe the countries to which he might carry his arms, and some of his officers were also men of literary culture, who could wield the pen as well as

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7 Herodotus mentions the river (Indus), the Pukhishan, the Ghanish, the Kandava, or Kandav, and the Kavas. Both Hecataeus and Herodotus agree in stating that there were sandy deserts in India.

8 "The few particulars appropriate to India, and consistent with truth, obtained by Cléorí, are almost confined to something resembling a description of the aspinal plant, the £, and the beautiful turban obtained from it, with a genuine picture of the monkey and the parrot; the two animals he had doubtless seen in Persia, and flowered cottons embellished with the glowing colours of the modern chintz were probably as much coveted by the fair Persians in the bazaars of Susa and Esbatana as they still are by the ladies of our own country; ..., but we are not bound to admit his fable of the Narshin, his yamin, his touch with the bands of dyes, and feet reversed, his writing, and his four-footed bird, as big as a wolf."—Fenelon.
the sword, hence the expedition produced quite copious narratives and memoirs relating to India, such as those of Bælio, Diognotos, Nearchos, Onesikritos, Aristoboulos, Kallisthenes, and others. These works are all lost, but their substance is to be found condensed in Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian. Subsequent to these writers were some others, who made considerable additions to the stock of information regarding India, among whom may be mentioned Déimachos, who resided for a long time in Pallibothra, whether he was sent on an embassy by Seleukos to Allitrochades, the successor of Sandrakottos; Patroklos, the admiral of Seleukos, who is called by Strabo the least mendacious of all writers concerning India; Timosthenes, admiral of the fleet of Ptolemaios Philadelphos; and Megasthenes, who being sent by Seleukos Nikator on an embassy to Sandrakottos (Chandragupta),† the king of the Prasi, whose capital was Pallibothra (Pataliputra, now Pāṇaś), wrote a work on India of such acknowledged worth that it formed the principal source whence succeeding writers drew their accounts of the country. This work, which appears

† The discovery that the Sandrakottos of the Greeks was identical with the Chandragupta, who figures in the Samskrit annals and the Samskrit drama was one of great moment, as it was the means of connecting Greek with Samskrit literature, and of thereby supplying for the first time a date to early Indian history, which had not a single chronological landmark of its own. Diodorus distorts the name into Xandragottos, and this again is distorted by Curtius into Apramana.
to have been entitled it, which, no longer exists, but it has been so often abridged and quoted by the ancient writers that we have a fair knowledge of its contents and their order of arrangement. Dr. Schwanbeck, with great industry and learning, has collected all the fragments that have been anywhere preserved, and has prefixed to the collection a Latin Introduction, wherein, after showing what knowledge the Greeks had acquired of India before Megasthenes, he enters into an examination of those passages in ancient works from which we derive all the little we know of Megasthenes and his Indian mission. He then reviews his work on India, giving a summary of its contents, and, having estimated its value and authority, concludes with a notice of those authors who wrote on India after his time.† I have translated in the latter part of the sequel a few instructive passages from this Introduction, one particularly which successfully vindicates Megasthenes from the charge of mendacity so frequently preferred against him. Meanwhile the following extracts, translated from C. Müller’s Preface to his edition of the Indika, will place before the reader all the information that can be gleaned regarding Megasthenes and his embassy from a careful scrutiny and comparison of all the ancient texts which relate thereto.

Justinus (XV. 1) says of Seleukos Nicator:

† He comments on Aristarchus, Hipparchus, Polyaenus, Menander, Apollonius, Agatharchides, Alexander Polybius, Strabo, Marinos of Tyre, and Ptolemy among the Greeks, and P. Tuscatus Varro, of Athens, M. Vipsania Agrippa, Pompianus Mela, Seneca, Pliny, and Suidas among the Romans.
He carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successors of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing Bactrianda, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed its governors, thinking thereby to shake off from its neck the yoke of slavery. Sandrokottos had made it free; but when victory was gained he changed the name of freedom to that of bondage, for he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. Sandrokottos, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonus (302 B.C.).

Besides Justinus, Appianus (Syr. 455) makes mention of the war which Seleucus had with Sandrokottos or Chandragupta king of the Prasii, or, as they are called in the Indian language, Prāchyaite. — He (Seleuc-
kos) crossed the Indus and waged war on Sandrokottos, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.' So also Strabo (ix. p. 724):—'Seleukos Nikator gave to Sandrokottos' (so, a large part of Arianë). Conf. p. 689:—'The Indians afterwards held a large part of Arianë, (which they had received from the Makedonians), 'entering into marriage relations with him, and receiving in return five hundred elephants' (of which Sandrokottos had nine thousand—Plinius, vi. 28-5) ; and Plutarch. Alex. 62:—'

For not long after, Androkottos, being king, presented Seleukos with five hundred elephants, and with six hundred thousand men attacked and subdued all India.' Phylarchos (Fragment. 25) in Athenaeus, p. 18 D., refers to some other wonderful enough presents as being sent to Seleukos by Sandrokottos.

"Diodorus (lib. xx.), in setting forth the affairs of Seleukos, has not said a single word about the Indian war. But it would be strange that that expedition should be mentioned so incidentally by other historians, if it were true, as many recent writers have contended, that Seleukos in this war reached the middle of India as far as the Ganges and the town Palimbota,—nay, even advanced as far as the mouths of the Ganges, and therefore left Alexander far behind him. This baseless theory has been well refuted by Lassen (De Peutop. Ind. 61), by A. G. Schlegel (Berliner Calendier),

1929, p. 31; see Benfey, Erzeh. u. Grüber, Entgeg. zu Indien, p. 67), and quite recently by Schwanbeck, in a work of great learning and value entitled Megasthenis Indica (Bonn, 1846). In the first place, Schwanbeck (p. 13) mentions the passage of Justinus (1. ii. 10) where it is said that no one had entered India but Semiramis and Alexander; whence it would appear that the expedition of Selenkros was considered so insignificant by Trogus as not even to be on a par with the Indian war of Alexander.† Then he says that Arrianus, if he had known of that remote expedition of Selenkros, would doubtless have spoken differently in his Indika (c. 5. 4), where he says that Megasthenes did not travel over much of India, "but yet more than those who invaded it along with Alexander the son of Philip." Now in this passage the author could have compared Megasthenes much more suitably and easily with Selenkros.‡ I pass over other proofs of less moment, nor

† Moreover, Schwanbeck calls attention (p. 14) to the words of Appianus (1. 1), where when he says, somewhat inaccurately, that Sambhôkottos was king of the Indians around the Indus (τῶν πέρι τῆς Ἰνδικής) he seems to mean that the war was carried on on the boundaries of India. But this is of no importance, for Appianus has τῶν πέρι Ἰνδικής, "of the Indians around it," as Schwanbeck himself has written it (p. 13).

‡ The following passage of the Indian comedy Mudrakshasa seems to favor the Indian expedition: "Meanwhile Kunampana (i.e., Fīḍāpātra, Paṭumabhā) the city of Chandragupta and the king of the mountain region, was invested on every side by the Kūśās, Kṛṣṇās, Kambojas, Persians, Baktrians, and the rest." But "that drama" (Schwanbeck, p. 19), "to follow the authority of Wilson, was written in the tenth century after Christ,—certainly ten centuries after Selenkros. When even the Indian historians have no authority in history, what proof can dramas give written
Indeed is it expedient to set forth in detail here all the reasons from which it is improbable of itself that the arms of Seleucus ever reached the region of the Ganges. Let us now examine the passage in Pliny which causes many to adopt contrary opinions. Plinyus (Hist. Nat. vi. 21), after finding from Diogelatos and Eucto the distances of the places from Portus Caspiae to the Hyphasis, the end of Alexander's march, thus proceeds:—'The other journeys made for Seleucus Nikator are as follows:—One hundred and sixty-eight miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jumanes as many (some copies add five miles); from thence to the Ganges one hundred and twelve miles. One hundred and nineteen miles to the Rhesphas (others give three hundred and twenty-five miles for this distance). To the town Kalinipata one hundred and sixty-seven. Five hundred (others give two hundred and sixty-five miles), and from thence to the confluence of the Jumanes and Ganges six hundred and twenty-five miles (several add thirteen miles), and to the town Phirmanothra four hundred and twenty-five. To the mouth of the Ganges six hundred and thirty-eight (or seven hundred and thirty-eight, to

after many centuries? Yavana, which was also in later times the Indian name for the Greeks, was very anciently the name given to a certain nation which the Indians dwell on the north-western boundaries of India; and the same nation (Man. v. 41) is also numbered with the Kusadas, the Sakas, the Parades, the Baldras, and the Sidras as being expelled among the Kshatriyas. (Krat. Laxm. Zeitschrift für d. Kunde des Mogulreichs, III. p. 283.) These Yanavas are to be understood in this passage also, where they are met with along with these tribes with which they are usually placed.
follow Schwanbeck’s correction,—that is, six
thousand stadia, as Megasthenes puts it.

"The ambiguous expression *Schwan Nica-
teri porqureis* must, translated above as 'the other
journeys made for Schwanos Nikatur,' according to
Schwanbeck’s opinion, contain a dative 'of advan-
tage,' and therefore can bear no other meaning.

The reference is to the journeys of Megasthenes,
Déméthias, and Patroskis, whom Seleukos had
sent to explore the more remote regions of Asia.

Nor is the statement of Plinins in a passage be-
fore this more distinct. (Tullior) he says, 'was
thrown open not only by the arms of Alexander the
Great, and the kings who were his successors, of
whom Schwanos and Antiquus upon travelled to
the Hysteronian and Caspian sea, Patroskis being com-
troller of their fleet, but all the Greek writers who
stayed behind with the Indian kings (for instance,
Megasthenes and Diouyeis, and by Philocolphus for
that purpose) have given accounts of the military
force of each nation,' Schwanbeck thinks that the
words *echon nothoicha etioia* . . . . Seleukos et Antiu-
chus at Patroskis are properly meant to convey
nothing but additional confirmation, and also an
explanation how India was opened up by the
arms of the kings who succeeded Alexander."

"The following statements," continues Müller,
"contain all that is related about Megas-
thénés:—

"Megasthenes the historian, who lived with Sele-
ukos Nikatur,"—Comm. Alex. p. 121 Syibh. (Frugm. 42);
Megasthenes, who lived with Syrbos § et al. In

§ Syrbos, according to Diodorus (XVIII. iii. 3), had
"
of Arachosia, and who says that he often visited Sandrokottos, king of the Indians,"—Arrian, Eop. Alex. V, vi. 2 (Fragm. 2);—"To Sandrokottos, to whom Megasthenes came on an embassy,"—Strabo, xv. p. 702 (Fragm. 25);—"Megasthenes and Deinachos were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrokottos at Pulumbothra, the other to Alitrocchados his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country,"—Strabo, ii. p. 70 (Fragm. 29 note); Megasthenes says that he often visited Sandrokottos, the greatest king (mahadraja: v. Bohlen, Alte Indien, I. p. 19) of the Indians, and Póros, still greater than he:"—Arrian, Ind. c. 5 (Fragm. 24). Add the passage of Plinius, which Solinus (Polyhistor. c. 60) thus renders:—"Megasthenes remained for some time with the Indian kings, and wrote a history of Indian affairs, that he might hand down to posterity a faithful account of all that he had witnessed. Dionysius, who was sent by Philadelphus to put the truth to the test by personal inspection, wrote also as much."

"From these sources, then, we gather that Megasthenes was the representative of Seleukos

114th Olympiad (n.c. 329), and was firmly established in his satrapy by Aētiosper (Arrianus, De success. Alex. § 85, ed. Diffr.). He joined Eumenes in 319 (Diod. xxx. 16. 8), but being called to account by him he sought safety in flight (ibid. XIX. xxiii. 4). After the defeat of Eumenes, Antiochus delivered to him the most troublesome of the Argyripollis (ibid. C. xivii. 3). He must have afterwards joined Seleukos.

|| Bohlen (Alte Indien, I. p. 68) says that Megasthenes was a Persian. No one gives this account of him but Annias Viterbiensis, that forger, whom Bohlen appears to have followed. But it is evidently a Greek name. Strabo (v. p. 243; comp. Velleius Paterculus, i. 4) mentions a Megasthenes of Chalais, who is said to have founded Cyme in Italy along with Hippokles of Kusā."
at the court of Sibyrtios, satrap of Arachosia, and that he was sent from thence as the king’s ambassador to Sandrokottos at Palimbothra, and that not once, but frequently—whether to convey to him the presents of Seleukos, or for some other cause. According to the statement of Arrianus, Megasthenes also visited king Potos, who was (Diod. xix. 14) already dead in 317 B.C. (Olymp. CXV. 4.) These events should not be referred to the period of Seleukos, but they may very easily be placed in the reign of Alexander, as Bohlen (Alte Indien, vol. I. p. 68) appears to have believed they should, when he says Megasthenes was one of the companions of Alexander. But the structure of the sentences does not admit of this conclusion. For Arrianus says, ‘It appears to me that Megasthenes did not see much of India, but yet more than the companions of Alexander, for he says that he visited Sandrokottos, the greatest king of the Indians, and Potos, even greater than he (καὶ Πόρος ἐστι τῶν μεγίστων).’ We should be disposed to say, then, that he made a journey on some occasion or other to Potos, if the obscurity of the language did not lead us to suspect it a corrupt reading. Lassen (De Pentap. p. 44) thinks the mention of Potos a careless addition of a chance transcriber, but I prefer Schwanbeck’s opinion, who thinks it should be written καὶ Πόρον ἐστι τῶν μεγίστων, ‘and who was even greater than Potos.’ If this correction is admitted, everything fits well.

‘The time when he discharged his embassy or embassies, and how long he stayed in India, cannot be determined, but he was probably sent after the treaty had been struck and friendship had
sprung up between the two kings. If, therefore, we make the reign of Sandrokkottas extend to the year 288, Megasthenes would have set out for Palimbothra between 302 and 293. Clinton (F. H. vol. III. p. 482) thinks he came to the Indian king a little before B.C. 302."

While the date of the visit of Megasthenes to India is thus uncertain, there is less doubt as to what were the parts of the country which he saw; and on this point Schombeek thus writes (p. 21):—

"Both from what he himself says, and because he has enumerated more accurately than any of the companions of Alexander, or any other Greek, the rivers of Kāndā and the Panjāb, it is clear that he had passed through these countries. Then, again, we know that he reached Pataliputra by travelling along the royal road. But he does not appear to have seen more of India than those parts of it, and he acknowledges himself that he knew the lower part of the country traversed by the Ganges only by hearsay and report. It is commonly supposed that he also spent some time in the Indian camp, and therefore in some part of the country, but where cannot now be known. This opinion, however, is based on a corrupt reading which the editions of Strabo exhibit. For in all the MSS. of Strabo (p. 70) is found this reading:—"Μεγασθένης δέ εἶπεν ὑπὸ τῆς Σανδροκόττος ὑποστηρικτὴς φωνῆς ὁ Μεγασθένης. τετταράκοσα μμαίις τὸν κόσμον θανάτισεν, μυθεῖοι ἡμέραις ἴδεν ἄνθρωπος πλεῖστα πλείστα διὰ σκιασμάτων δραμάτων ἤθελα. "Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrokkottas saw," &c. From this translation that given by Guarini and Gregoric alone
...different. They render these:—Megasthenes: 

"civice," "Megas~thenes relates that when he had 
come into the camp of Sandrocottus, he saw, 

From this it appears that the translator had 
found written pampaxa. But since that 
translation is hardly equal in authority even to a single 
MS, and since the word pampaxa can be changed 
more readily into the word pampaxa than pampaxa, 

it is into pampaxa; there is no reason at all why 
we should depart from the reading of all the 
MSS., which Casaubon disturbed by a 
barefoot conjecture, contending that pampaxa should be 
substituted,—inasmuch as it is evident from Strabo 

and Arrianus (V, vi. 2) that Megasthenes had been 
sent to Sandrocottus,—which is an argument 
utterly false. Nevertheless from the time of 
Cassubon the wrong reading pampaxa which he 
confounded was held in ground."

That Megasthenes paid more than one visit to 
India Schwanteck is not at all inclined to believe. 
On this point he says (p. 29)—

"That Megasthenes frequently visited India recent 

writers, all with one consent, following Robertson, 
are wont to maintain; nevertheless this opinion is far 
from being certain. For what Arrianus has said in 
his Exeget. αἰσ, V, vi. 2,—Πάντας ὁς ζήτησεν (Megas~ 

thenes) ἀποκαλύπται πόλεμου τὸν ἠθέλει την Ἀρμανίαν, 
does not solve the question, for he might have meant 
by the words that Megasthenes during his em-

bassy had frequent interviews with Chandragupta. 
Now, if we look to the context, does any other 
explanation seem admissible; and in fact no other 
writer besides has mentioned his making frequent
tions, although occasion for making such menion was by no means wanting, and in the India itself of Megasthenes not the slightest indication of his having made numerous visits is to be found. But perhaps some may say that to this view is opposed the accurate knowledge which he possessed on all Indian matters; but this may equally well be accounted for by believing that he made a protracted stay at Pataliputra as by supposing that he frequently visited India. Robertson's conjecture appears, therefore, uncertain, not to say hardly credible."

Regarding the veracity of Megasthenes, and his value as a writer, Schwantes writes (p. 59) to this effect:—

"The ancient writers, whenever they judge of those who have written on Indian matters, are without doubt wont to reckon Megasthenes among those writers who are given to lying and least worthy of credit, and to rank him almost on a par with Kebias. Arrianus alone has judged better of him, and delivers his opinion of him in these words:—

'Regarding the Indians I shall set down in a special work all that is most credible for narration in the accounts penned by those who accompanied Alexander on his expedition, and by Nearchus, who navigated the great sea which washes the shores of India, and also by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, who are both approved men (δύο ἔργοι ἀξίου).' Ann. N.P. ed. A. D. V. 5.

"The foremost amongst those who disapprove him is Eratosthenes, and in open agreement with him are Strabo and Pliny. Others, among whom is Diodorus, by omitting certain particulars v
Regarding the manner in which Strabo, Arrianus, Diodorus, and Plinyus used the data of Magna Græcia, Schwaberk remarks: "Strabo, and—not unlike to Strabo—Arrianus, who, however, gave a much less carefully considered account of India, abridged the descriptions of Magna Græcia, yet in such a way that they wrote at once in an agreeable style and with strict regard to accuracy. But when Strabo designed not merely to instruct but also to delight his readers, he omitted whatever would be out of place in an entertaining narrative or picturesque description, and avoided above all things what would look like a dry list of names. Now though this may not be a fault, still it is not to be denied that these particulars which he has omitted would have very greatly helped our knowledge of Ancient India. Nay, Strabo, in his eagerness to be interesting, has gone so far that the topography of India is almost entirely a blank in his pages."

Diodorus, however, in applying this principle of composition has exceeded all bounds. For as he did not aim at writing learnedly for the instruction of others, but in a light, moving style, so as to be read with delight by the multitude, he adopted for extenuate such parts as rendered this purpose. He has therefore omitted not only the most accurate narrations of facts, but also the fables which his readers might consider as incredible, and has been most partial to describe instead that part of Indian life which to the Greeks would appear singular and diverting... Nevertheless his epitome is not without its value; for although we do not learn much that is new from its contents, still it has the advantage over all the others of being the most coherent, while at the same time it enables us to attribute with certainty an occasional passage to Magna Græcia, which without its help we could not conjecture proximate from his pen.

Since Strabo, Arrianus, and Diodorus have directed their attention to India nearly the same things, it has resulted that the greater part of the data are both preserved. And that of many passages, singularly enough, these epitome are extant, to which occasionally a fourth is added by Plinyus.

At a great distance from these writers, and especially from Diodorus, stands Plinyus. Where it happens that he both differs most from that writer, and also best complements his epitome. Where the narrative of Strabo and Arrianus is not once pleasing and instructive, and Diodorus charmus as with a lively sketch, Pliny gives instead, in the fullest lan-
"Dionysius (p. 76) says, 'Generally speaking, the men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India were a set of liars.—Démachos holds the first place in the list. Megasthenes comes next; while Onesikritos and Nearchos, with others of the same class, manage to stumble out a few words (of truth). Of this we become the more convinced while writing the history of Alexander. No faith whatever can be placed in Démachos and Megasthenes. They related the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without any mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spider-legs, and with fingers bent backward. They repeated Hesiod's fables concerning the battles of the cranes and pygmys, and asserted the latter to be three spans high. They told of ants digging for gold, and Pans with wedge-shaped heads, of serpents swallowing down even and stage, horses and all. Meanwhile, as Bion observed, according each other of falsehood, both of these men were sent as ambassadors to Palaimothrates, Megasthenes to Sandrokratos, Démachos to Amirochidas, his son, and such are the notes of their residence abroad, which I know not why, they thought fit to leave. When he adds, 'Ptolemy's certainly does not resemble them, nor do any other of the authorities' grace, an ill-directed commotion of men. With his usual method of difference he has written this part, but more frequently all he writes with too little care and judgment, so that of which we have already seen numerous instances. In a careless way, as is usual, he commends authors, so that if you compared his accounts of Taprobane and the kingdom of the Taissi you would think that he had lived at different periods. He frequently comments Megasthenes, because frequently seems to transcribe him without acknowledged ascent.'—pp. 56-58.
we may well wonder, seeing that, of all the writers on India, Eratosthenes has chiefly followed Megasthenes. Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI. xxi. 2) says: "India was opened up to our knowledge . . . even by other Greek writers, who, having resided with Indian kings,—as for instance Megasthenes and Dionysius,—made known the strength of the races which peopled the country. It is not, however, worth while to study their accounts with care, so conflicting are they, and incredible."

"These same writers, however, seeing they have copied into their own pages a great part of his Indika, cannot by any means have so entirely distrusted his veracity as one might easily infer they did from these judgments. And what of this, that Eratosthenes himself, who did not quote him sparingly, says in Strabo (p. 639) that "he sets down the breadth of India from the registry of the Statthami, which were received as authentic,"—a passage which can have reference to Megasthenes alone. The fact is they find fault with only two parts of the narrative of Megasthenes,—the one in which he writes of the fabulous races of India, and the other where he gives an account of Herakles and the Indian Dionysus: although it so happens that on other matters also they regarded the account given by others as true, rather than that of Megasthenes."

"The Aryan Indians were from the remotest period surrounded on all sides by indigenous tribes in a state of barbarism, from whom they differed both in mind and disposition. They were most acutely sensible of this difference, and gave it a very pointed expression. For as barbarians—"
tion of the gods themselves, are excluded from the Indian commonwealth, so they seem to have been currently regarded by the Indians as of a nature and disposition lower than their own, and bestial rather than human. A difference existing between minds is not easily perceived, but the Indians were quick to discern how unlike the barbarous tribes were to themselves in bodily figure; and the divergence they exaggerated, making bad worse, and so framed to themselves a mental picture of these tribes beyond measure hideous. When reports in circulation regarding them had given fixity to this conception, the poets seized on it as a basis for further exaggeration, and embellished it with fables. Other races, and these even Indian, since they had originated in an intermixture of tribes, or since they did not sufficiently follow Indian manners, and especially the system of caste, so aroused the common hatred of the Indians that they were reckoned in the same category with the barbarians, and represented as equally hideous of aspect. Accordingly in the epic poems we see all Brahmanical India surrounded by races not at all real, but so imaginary that sometimes it cannot be discovered how the fable originated.

"Forms still more wonderful you will find by bestowing a look at the gods of the Indians and their retinue, among whom particularly the attendants of Kuvëra and Kërikëya are described in such a manner (conf. Mahêbh. ix. 2538 et seq.), that hardly anything which it is possible for the human imagination to invent seems omitted. These, however, the Indians now sufficiently dis-
tangulch from the fabulous races, since they neither believe that they live within the borders of India, nor have any intercourse with the human race. These, therefore, the Greeks could not confound with the races of India.

"These races, however, might be more readily confounded with other creatures of the Indian imagination, who held a sort of intermediate place between demons and men, and whose number was legion. For the Rākṣasas and other Pīśāchās are said to have the same characteristics as the fabulous races, and the only difference between them is that, while a single (evil) attribute only is ascribed to each race, many or all of these are assigned to the Rākṣasas and the Pīśāchās. Altogether so slight is the distinction between the two that any strict line of demarcation can hardly be drawn between them. For the Rākṣasas, though described as very terrible beings, are nevertheless believed to be human, and both to live on the earth and take part in Indian battles, so that an ordinary Indian could hardly define how the nature of a Rākṣasa differs from that of a man. There is scarcely any one thing found to characterize the Rākṣasas which is not attributed to some race or other. Therefore, although the Greeks might have heard of these by report,—which cannot be proved for certain,—they could scarcely, by reason of that, have erred in describing the manners of the races according to the Indian conception.

"That report about these tribes should have reached Greece is not to be wondered at. For fables invented with some glow of poetic fire, have
a remarkable facility in gaining a wide currency, which is all the greater in proportion to the boldness displayed in their invention. These fables also in which the Indians have represented the lower animals as talking to each other have been diffused through almost every country in the world, in a way we cannot understand. Other fables found their way to the Greeks before even the name of India was known to them. In this class some fables even in Homer must be reckoned,—a matter which, before the Vedas were better known, admitted only of probable conjecture, but could not be established by unquestionable proofs. We perceive, moreover, that the later the epic poems of the Greeks depart from their original simplicity the more, for this very reason, do these fables creep into them; while a very liberal use of them is made by the poets of a later age. It would be a great mistake to suppose that those fables only in which India is mentioned proceeded from India; for a fable in becoming current carries along with it the name of the locality in which the scene of it is laid. An example will make this clear. The Indians supposed that towards the north, beyond the Himalayas, dwelt the Uttarakuru, people who enjoyed a long and happy life, to whom disease and care were unknown, and who revelled in every delight in a land all paradise. This fable made its way to the West, carrying with it the name of the locality to which it related, and so it came to pass that from the time of Herodotus the Greeks supposed that towards the north lived the Uttarakuru, whose very name was fixed soon after some
ideness to the Indian war. The reason why the
Indian placed the seat of the happy people (towards
the north is manifest; but there was another
reason which can be discovered why the Greeks
should have done so. Nay, the locality assigned
to the Hyperboreans is not only out of harmony,
but in direct conflict, with that conception of the
world which the Greeks entertained.

"The first knowledge of the mythical geography
of the Indians comes from this verbal, when the
Greeks were the unconscious recipients of Indian
fables. Fresh knowledge was imparted by Skyp
ais, who first gave a description of India; and
all writers from the time of Skypnais, with not a
single exception, mention those fabulous men,
but in such a way that they are wont to speak of
them as Eubians; by doing which they have
mislaid a happy and the spirit of delight, or
especially Khlais. This writer, however, is not
at all untruthful when he says, in the conclusion
of his Endliche (32), that he unites many of
these stories, and others still more marvellous.
That he may not appear to such as have not seen
those, to be telling what is incredible, for he
could have described many other fabulous races,
such as for example men with the heads of tigers (πηλ
χρεμαλια), others with the heads of snakes,
(πηλντηνεια), others having horns like those
(πηλντηνεια), others with bodies like dogs,
(πηλτηνεια), others with four feet (πηλτηνεια),
others with three eyes (πηλοκεφαλαια), and others with
six hundred.

"Now were the companions of Alexander in
described the U.C.M., in fact, namely any of
from doubt, at least. For, in nearly speaking, they were communicated to them by the Brahmins, whose learning and wisdom they held in the utmost estimation. Why, then, should we be surprised that Megasthenes, following examples so high, and numerous, should have believed those fables? His account of them is to be found in Strabo, i. 7, 11, Polyb. Hist. Nat. vii. 2; 11, 22; Solin. 22 (Sch. p. 64.)

Schwanbeck then considers the fables related by Megasthenes, and having shown that they were of Indian origin, thus proceeds: (p. 74, 2nd):

"The probability of Megasthenes' narration cannot be questioned, for he related truly what he actually saw, and what was told him by others. If we therefore seek to know what reliance is to be placed on any particular narrative, this latter point must be considered, how far his informants were worthy of credit. But here no grounds for suspicion exist; for on these matters, which did not come under his own observation, he had his information from those Brahmins, who were the rulers of the state, to whom he again and again appealed as his authorities. Accordingly he was able not only to describe how the kingdom of the Prashti was governed, but also to give an estimate of the power of other nations and the strength of their rulers. Herein we cannot wonder that Indian ideas were to be found in the books of Megasthenes; and we can, in fact, consider as having been personally observed, and with Greek views."

"To this it is to be objected that the opinions of Megasthenes cannot be objected that he told us
much. That he did not fail to compile an adequate account of Indian affairs in the Greek order, we know. For he has described the country, its soil, climate, animals, and plants; its government and religion; the manners of its people and their arts—in short, the whole of Indian life from the king to the commoner, and he has narrated every object with a vitreous coolness and sagacity, without overlooking event and minute circumstance. If we may not omit, we shall only add about the religion and gods of the Indians, and nothing at all about their literature, we should select that we are not reading the veritable book, but only an epitome and some particulars摘要s of events that have survived the wreck of time" (p. 76).

Of the slight notice into which he falls, some of that kind is in which even the most casual observer may be betrayed, as for instance his erroneous notion that the Vipava pours its waters into the Drava. Others had their origin in his wrong pronunciation of the meaning of Indian words; in which he had been referred to a section that among the Indians was not written, but everything decided by memory. Besides he alleges that on stone buildings were carved three words in making up the calendar almanac for the end of their lives, which related, as punishment. This passage, which has not, yet, been cleared up, I would explain by supposing that he had learnt the Indian word *ahubiti*, a name which is applied both to a tamarind and to an angel; and, finally, the very box. men would not then make the three symbols; and if they were erect with their hands in the first position of Indian motion, from their pole.
of view, from which we are told that he dedicated several centuries, and gave an account of the Indian gods and other matters.

"Notwithstanding, the work of Megasthenes—in so far as it is a part of Greek literature and of Greek and Roman learning—is, as it were, the culminating point of the knowledge which the ancients ever acquired of India; for although the geographical science of the Greeks attained afterwards a perfect form, nevertheless the knowledge of India derived from the books of Megasthenes has only approached perfect accuracy the more directly those who have written after him on India have followed his Indika. And it is not only on account of his own merit that Megasthenes is a writer of great importance, but also on this other ground, that while other writers have borrowed a great part of what they relate from him, he exercised a powerful influence on the whole sphere of Latin and Greek scientific knowledge.

"Besides this authority which the Indika of Megasthenes holds in Greek literature, his writings have another value, since they hold not the last place among the sources whence we derive our knowledge of Indian antiquity. For as there now exists a knowledge of our own of ancient India, still on some points he increases the knowledge which we have acquired from other sources, even though his narrative not seldom requires to be supplemented and corrected. Notwithstanding it must be conceded that the new information as learned from him is neither extremely great in amount nor weight. What is of greater importance than all that matter which he has told us, is that
he has recalled a picture of the condition of India at a definite period,—a service of all the greater value, because Indian literature, always self-consistent, is wont to leave us in the greatest doubt if we seek to know what happened at any particular time." (pp. 76, 77.)

It is yet an unsettled question whether the Iliad was written in the Attic or the Ionic dialect.*

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* The following authorities are quoted by Schurzick (pp. 23, 24) to show that the Iliad of Homer is divided into four books:—Athos, II. p. 140, where the 2nd book is mentioned; Thuc. Ab., 106. ed. 1. p. 157; Pinkin, where the 3rd book is mentioned; Joseph, ed. 1. p. 80, and 107, 16. x. xii. 1, where the 4th book is mentioned.—Cf. Syd. I. p. 140, Benno. The arrangement of the fragments to their respective books and matters of some difficulty, as the order of their connection varies in different authors.
FRAGMENT I.

On an Epitome of Megasthenes.

(Dioc. II. ii. 15-17.)

India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hæmôdos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakas, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile. The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 25,000 stadia, and from north to south 32,000. Being thus of such vast extent, it seems well-nigh to embrace the whole of the northern tropic zone of the earth, and in fact at the extreme point of India the gnomon of the sundial may frequently be observed to cast no shadow, while the constellation of the Bear is by night invisible, and in the remotest parts even Arcturus disappears from view. Consistently with this, it is also stated that shadows there fall to the southward.

India has many huge mountains which bound in fruit-trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility—more or less beautiful.

1 With Eul. 1, conf. Freyn. 5, 56 (see Ind. Ant, vol. V p. 36, c. 4).

2 Conf. Freyn 14

3 Conf. Freyn 15.
The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts,—beasts of the field and fowls of the air,—of all different degrees of strength and size. It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk, as its soil supplies food in unsparing profusion, making these animals far to exceed in strength those that are bred in Libya. It results also that, since they are caught in great numbers, by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory.

(3d.) The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use, and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called bajrava, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year—one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and bajrava, as well as sesamum and millet—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the succulent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is unlike usual, whether it is derived from the rivers or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails
upon the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famines among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whose husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

(37) India, again, possesses many rivers; both large and navigable, which, having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier, traverse the level country, and not a few of these, after uniting with each other, fall into the river called the Ganges.

Now this river, which at its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridae, a nation which possesses a vast force of the largest-sized elephants. Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any
foreign king: for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. Thus Alexander the Makedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridae,† as he did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridae when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war. Another river, about the same size as the Ganges, called the Indus, has its sources, like its rival, in the north, and falling into the ocean forms on its way the boundary of India; in its passage through the vast stretch of level country it receives not a few tributary streams which are navigable, the most notable of them being the Hupanas, the Hudaspès, and the Akesinès. Besides these rivers there are a great many others of every description, which permeate the country, and supply water for the nurture of garden vegetables and crops of all sorts. Now to account for the rivers being so numerous, and the supply of water so superabundant, the native philosophers and proficient in natural science advance the following reasons:—They

† Conf. Lysan, Pessipp. 15.
say that the countries which surround India—those of the Scythians and Bactrians, and also of the Aryans—are more elevated than India, so that their waters, agreeably to natural law, flow down together from all sides to the plains beneath, where they gradually saturate the soil with moisture, and generate a multitude of rivers.

11 A peculiarity is found to exist in one of the rivers of India,—that called the S ııla s, which flows from a fountain bearing the same name. It differs from all other rivers in this respect,—that nothing cast into it will float, but everything, strange to say, sinks down to the bottom.

(38.) 12 It is said that India, being of enormous size when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; 13 and moreover that India neither received a colony from abroad, nor sent out a colony to any other nation. 14 The legends further inform us that in primitive times the inhabitants subsisted on such fruits as the earth yielded spontaneously, and were clothed with the skins of the beasts found in the country, as was the case with the Greeks; and that, in like manner as with them, the arts and other appliances which improve human life were gradually invented, Necessity herself teaching

12 Conf. Pragm. dcr.
them to an animal at once doleful and furnished; not only with hands ready to second all his efforts, but also with reason and a keen intelligence.

21 The men of greatest learning among the Indians tell certain legends, of which it may be proper to give a brief summary. They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionysos made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He over-

† Pausan. I. B. Dial. III. 67.

Concerning Dionysos.

Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievements. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine. In like manner he ascertained what culture was requisite for figs and other fruit trees, and transmitted this knowledge to after-times; and, in a word, it was he who found out how these fruits should be gathered in, whence also he was called Lenais. This same Dionysos, however, they call also Katapogan, since it is a custom among the Indians to nourish their beards with great care to the very end of
from the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his army. 26 The host, however, having become excessive, and the soldiers of Dionnus being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his singularity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the fountains that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. 27 The place among the mountains where Dionnus restored his troops to health was called Meros; from which cir-

their life. Dionnus then, at the head of an army, marched to every part of the world, and taught mankind the planting of the vine, and how to crush grapes in the winepress, whence he was called Euanaios. Having in like manner imparted to all a knowledge of his other inventions, he obtained after his departure from among men immortal honour from those who had benefited by his labours. It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write.

25 or sequ. Conf. Fragm. ivii.
...omance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionysos was bred in his father's thigh. Having, after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and courts of justice. Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours. It is related also of him that he led about with his army a great host of women and employed, in marshalling his troops for battle, drums and cymbals, as the trumpet had not in his days been invented, and that after reign ing over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.

Such, then, are the traditions regarding Dionysos and his descendants current

§ 1192. § 1192. Conf. Progan. I.
among the Indians who inhabit the hill-country. They further assert that Herakles also was born among them. They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion's skin. He surpassed other men in personal strength and prowess, and cleared sea and land of evil beasts. Marrying many wives he begot many sons, but one daughter only. The sons having reached man's estate, he divided all India into equal portions for his children, whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter, whom he reared up and made a queen. He was the founder, also, of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Paliabóthra. He built therein many sumptuous palaces, and settled within its walls a numerous population. The city he fortified with trenches of notable dimensions, which were filled with water introduced from the river. Herakles, accordingly, after his removal from among men, obtained immortal honour; and his descendants, having reigned for many generations and signalized themselves by great achievements, neither made any expedition beyond the confines of India, nor sent out any colony abroad. 

34,35 Conf. Fragm. 1. in Ind. Ann. vol. V, pp. 89,90, etc. viii., from "But that Herakles," i.e. to "of his daughter." || Apparently Siva is meant, though his many wives and sons are unknown to Hindu mythology.---Sr. 36 Conf. Fragm. ivv.
had, however, after many years had gone, most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly until the invasion of the country by Alexander. Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable: for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess: for these, they thought, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot: for it is but fair and reasonable to institute laws which bind all equally, but allow property to be unevenly distributed.

(40.) The whole population of India is divided into seven castes, of which the first is formed by the collective body of the Philosophers, which in point of number is inferior to the other classes, but in point of dignity preëminently over all. For the philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime, and to celebrate the obsequies of

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\*3 Sm. 123 and 124.
the dead; for they are believed to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In return for such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. To the people of India at large, they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the bearers. Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

The second caste consists of the Husbandmen, who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover, exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unavaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is

* Ταγωγί, Strab. Arr. Died
required to make life very enjoyable. The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

The third caste consists of the Neuters and Shepherds, and in general all husbandmen who neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents. By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. As they apply themselves eagerly and assiduously to this pursuit, they free India from the pests with which it abounds—all sorts of wild beasts, and birds which devour the seeds sown by the husbandmen.\footnote{τί θεολογοι καὶ παντικες καὶ εσθήαντες καὶ κάματος. Diod. Παμποτικός καὶ Θρησκεύοντες. Παμποτικός το εσθήαντες. λακονικος.}

(41.) The fourth caste consists of the Artisans.\footnote{Τριτος καὶ θέατους καὶ καλλιέργειας καὶ καμάτων. Περισσότερα στη θαλάσσης.} Of these some are armours, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying...
cases, but even receive maintenance from the royal exchequer.

"The fifth caste is the MILITARY." It is well-organized and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to idleness and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force—men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all—are maintained at the king's expense.

69 The sixth caste consists of the Overseers. It is their province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the king, or, where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

70 The seventh caste consists of the Controllers and Assessors, or those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, having the number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers of the state, and the arbiters who settle disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.

71 Shah, then, are about the part into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to

1 U. Frederick, Shah, Art.
exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher.\footnote{41}

(42.) \footnote{42}India possesses a vast number of huge elephants, which far surpass those found elsewhere both in strength and size. This animal does not cover the female in a peculiar way, as some affirm, but like horses and other quadrupeds. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and at furthest eighteen.\footnote{43} Like mares, they generally bring forth but one young one at a time, and this the dam suckles for six years. Most elephants live to be as old as an extremely old man, but the most aged live two hundred years.

\footnote{44} Among the Indians officers are appointed over foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives.\footnote{45} The judges

\footnote{41} It appears strange that Magnanam should have divided the people of India into seven castes... Heels, however, had divided the people of Egypt into seven castes, namely, priests, nobles, men of wealth,服役men, officers, physicians, judges, and merchants... Consequently, therefore, he inclined it for granted that these were seven castes in India. It was evident to him that, from the time of Alexander's expedition to a comparatively recent date, geography and otherwise constantly favors a division between Egypt and India.\footnote{42} Withers' (ed.) 312, vol. III, p. 162, note 23, 24. Coed. Prac. cap. 90.

\footnote{43} For some remarks on this point see Bichmann's translation of the 'Hist. Purch.,' p. 118.
BOOK I.

FEALM. II.

Arr. Exped. Alex. V. 6. 2-11.

Of the Boundaries of India, its General Character, and its Rivers.‡

According to Eratosthenes, and Megasthenes who lived with Siburtios the satrap of Arachosia, and who, as he himself tells us, often visited Sandakottos§ the king of the Indians, India forms the largest of the four parts into which Southern Asia is divided, while the smallest part is that region which is included between the Euphrates and our own sea. The two remaining parts, which are separated from the others by the Euphrates and the Indus, and lie between these rivers, are scarcely of sufficient size to be compared with India, even should they be taken both together. The same writers say that India is bounded on its

‡ Conf. Epit. ad init.
§ The name of Chandragupta is written by the Greeks in various ways, Chandragotis, Sandakottas, Sandarokotas, and others. Schneider, p. 12, n. 6.
eastern side, right onwards to the north, by the great ocean; that its northern frontier is formed by the Kankasa range as far as the junction of that range with Turan; and that the boundary towards the west and the north-west, as far as the great ocean, is formed by the river Indus.

A considerable portion of India consists of a level plain, and this, as they conjecture, has been formed from the alluvial deposits of the river,—inferring this from the fact that in other countries plains which are far away from the sea are generally formations of their respective rivers, so that in old times a country was even called by the name of its river. As an instance, there is the so-called plain of the Hermus—a river in Asia (Minor), which, flowing from the Mount of Mother Dindymê, falls into the sea near the Æolian city of Smyrna. There is also the Lydian plain of the Knûstros, named after that Lydian river; and another, that of the Kaîkos, in Mysia; and one also in Karia,—that of the Maianêros, which extends even to Miletos, which is an Ionian city. [As for Egypt, both the historians Herodotus and Hekataios (or at any rate the author of the work on Egypt if he was other than Hekataios) alike agree in declaring it to be the gift of the Nile, so that that country was perhaps even called after the river; for in early times Aigyptos was the name of the river which now-a-days both the Egyptians and other nations call the Nile, as the words
of Homer clearly prove, when he says that Memnon stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aegyptes. If, then, there is but a single river in each plain, and these rivers, though by no means large, are capable of forming, as they flow to the sea, much new land, by carrying down silt from the uplands, where their sources are, it would be unreasonable to reject the belief in the case of India that a great part of it is a level plain, and that this plain is formed from the silt deposited by the rivers, seeing that the Hermos, and the Kaisros, and the Khekos, and the Maundros, and all the many rivers of Asia which fall into the Mediterranean, even if united, would not be fit to be compared in volume of water with an ordinary Indian river, and much less with the greatest of them all, the Ganges, with which neither the Egyptian Nile, nor the Danube which flows through Europe, can for a moment be compared. Nay, the whole of these if combined all into one are not equal even to the Ganges, which is already a large river where it rises from its fountains, and which after receiving as tributaries fifteen rivers all greater than those of Asia, and bearing off from its rival the honour of giving name to the country, falls at last into the sea.*

* Strollo, X. 1. 32. p. 700. — "All the rivers mentioned (the last of which is the Indian) unite in one, the Indus. They say that fifteen considerable rivers in all flow into it."
Fragment III

Arr. Indices, II. i. 7.

Of the Boundaries of India.

(See translation of Arrian.)

Fragment IV.

Strabo, XV, i. 11.—p. 689.

Of the Boundaries and Extent of India.

India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Tauros, and from Aricia to the

* Conf. Epit. 1, and for notes on the same see India

† Conf. Epit. 1, 2. Pline (Hist. Nat. VI, 21. 2) states that
India extends from north to south 25,000 thousand parsecs.
This number, though it is not exactly equal to 22,500, or 22,000, nevertheless approaches the number given by
Megasthenes—a nearer than any other. From the numbers
which both Arrian (Ind. iii. 8) and Strabo give, Diodorus differs essentially, for he gives the breadth
extends to 22,000, and the length to 22,000 stadia. It
would be rash to deny that Megasthenes may have also indicated the longer numbers of Diodorus, see Arrian
(Ind. iii. 7-8) while to the number the words "who short," and "who unsaid," and Strabo (p. 689)
has added to the expression of the breadth. The words "in
the straits." and, referring to Megasthenes and Dimas,
bring distinctly "who state that in some places the
distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in
others 30,000." (p. 68-69). There can be no doubt, however,
that Megasthenes regarded the smaller, and Dimas the
larger number as correct, for the latter seemed to Arrian un worthy of mention, and Strabo (p. 690) says
despondently, "Megasthenes and Dimas make the distance
from the southern sea to Conamara 22,000 stadia; Dimas, however, allows that the
distance is 22,000 stadia, and what places exceed 20,000 stadia," by which he
quite excludes Megasthenes from this opinion. And at
p. 22, where he mentions the 20,000 stadia of Dimas, he
does not say a word of Megasthenes. But it is not certain that 20,000 stadia is the only measure Megasthenes
 gave of the breadth of India. For not only Strabo (p. 690—}
and Arina (Str, 11. 7) have not quoted a large number from Megadeth's book; H. p. 605, which he made (Scalne, p. 699).—

Euripides, he has given smaller dimensions for India than Megadeth's—Ptolemy mentions the measure of 15,000 stadia; wherefor, for what Hipparokritos stated, the greatest number was the most suitable for his book. I think the numbers were augmented because Megadeth's regarded as Indian, [because] and the part of Arina which Chirinagran had taken from Colchis (and on the north the Ganges nations), which he mentions elsewhere. With Megadeth's said about the breadth of India, something similar throughout the whole geography of the Greeks, as that he saw in Ptolemy, who says India extends 16,000 stadia, almost near [the] end of it. But his measure of India has either been rejected by all, or fear of rejecting the ancient opinion that the land was not at the land of India, or as [the] Hipparokritos, which they actually carried [the] extreme to the north.—Schwabe, p. 19, 34, n. 21.

§ Schwabe regards [as] Iberia in Arina.
|| i.e. The Himilaya.

6 The world was anciently regarded as an island surrounded by the Atlantic Sea.
sea along the coast of the river Indus up to 6 months, is said to be 10,000 stadia, so that the eastern side opposite, with the addition of the 8000 stadia of the promontory, will be somewhere about 18,000 stadia. This is the breadth of India where it is both smallest and greatest. The length from west to east as far as Pālibothra can be stated with greater certainty, for the royal road which leads to that city has been measured by a census, and is in length 10,000 stadia. The extent of the parts beyond can only be conjectured from the time taken to make voyages from the sea to Pālibothra by the Ganges, and any be about 6000 stadia. The entire length, computed at the shortest, will be 16,000 stadia. This is the estimate of Herodotus, who says he derived it principally from the authoritative register of the stages on the Royal Road. Herodotus Magnus' agrees.

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8 All the texts read it otherwise instead of premis. In the MS. of Simandharas, we read and quote to Arama, who extracts the same passage from Mandahara, everywhere. It seems to be nothing to blame in either translation, but it is clear that in a shorter than the translation for Simandhara may have been needed to find the Greek. Simandharas, in any case, had the ideas of Herodotus, however, which with Mandahara is a more exact on 5000 stadia (Hr. Hist. Met. XLI. 30), barely meeting with the Indian version of 4000 stadia. I do not favor the exactitude. In the Indian this length is measured in 13,000, but even that it is shorter than the Herodotus reaches 14,000 stadia, and also by the Indian poets (Ved. sth. 1. 47. 4, 26), and Var. sth. 7. 39; the Greek 5000 stadia, which it seems certain that the Greeks are equal to Greek but, and which would be a matter only that the Indus. — Schol. ii. 27, n. 25.
with him. [That is, however, makes the length less by 10,000 stades.] — Chav. 28, sep. 16, 17.

Parv., V.
Samh., B. i, 6 — p. 61.

Of the Size of India.

Again, Hippias, in the second volume of his commentary, charges Herodotus with throwing discredit on Ptolemy for differing from Megasthenes about the length of India on its northern side. Megasthenes makes it 18,000 stadia, and Ptolemy 10,000 less.

I. EXPH. VI.
Samh., B. i, 12 — pp. 608-620.

Of the Size of India.

[From this, one can readily see how the accounts of the other writers vary from one another. Thus Khama says that India is not of less size than the rest of Asia; Onobroto regards it as the third part of the inhabited world; and Neaerao says it takes one fourth months to traverse the plain only.] Megasthenes and Diochares incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the Southern Sea to Kaukasos is over 20,000 stadia. — [Diochares, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia. Of these notices has been taken in an earlier part of the work.]
Mary. VII.

Book II. 4.—71 B.C.

Of the Size of India.

Hipparchus contended in this view, urging the
utility of the parallel on which it stands. Ptole-
maios, however, urges the necessity of proof, opposed as
he is by two competent authorities, Hipparchos
and Megasthenes, who note that in some places
the distance from the southern sea is 22,000
stades, and in others 30,000. Such, he says, is
the account they give, and it agrees with the an-
cient charts of the country.

Farreri. VIII.

Ann. 170 B.C. 117 B.C.

Of the Size of India.

With Megasthenes the breadth of India is in
extent from north to south, though this is called
by others its length. His account is that the
breadth of India is 10,000 stades, and its
length—by which he means its extent from
north to south—is at the narrowest 25,000
stades.

Farreri. IX.

Ann. 197 B.C.—182 B.C.

Of the setting of the moon, and tides falling in
counter directions.

Again, he [Florus, loc. cit.] wished to show the
ignorance of Dicaearchs, and his want of a

† Cal. Est. 6.
practical knowledge of such subjects, evidenced as it was by his thinking that India lay between the autumnal equinox and the winter tropic, and by his contradicting the assertion of Megasthenes that in the southern parts of India, the constellation of the Bear disappeared from view, and shadows fell in opposite directions,—phenomena which he assures us are never seen in India, thereby exhibiting the greatest ignorance. He does not agree in this opinion, but accuses Démocritus of ignorance for asserting that the Bears do nowhere in India disappear from sight, nor shadows fall in opposite directions, as Megasthenes supposed.

FRAGMENT X.

Of the Setting of the Bear.

Next [to the Prasii] in the interior are the Menedes and the Suari, to whom belongs Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and in summer to the south, for six months alternately. The Bears, Bacton


4. "The Mandai would seem to be the same people as the Menedes of Pliny, who with the Suari occupied the inland country to the south of the Punjab. As this is the exact position of the country of the Mandai and Suari, I think it quite certain that they must be the same race as the Menedes and Suari of Pliny. In another passage Pliny mentions the Mandai and Malli as occupying the country between the Calseo and the Ganges. Amongst the Malli there was a mountain named Mallia, which
saya. in that part of the country are only once visible in the course of the year, and not for more than fifteen days. Megasthenes says that this takes place in many parts of India.

From Smith, p. 12:

Beyond Pataliôsthra is Mana Môlana, on which shadows fall in winter towards the north, and in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. The North Pole is visible in that part of the country once in the course of the year, and not for longer than fifteen days, as Eratosthenes says, who allows that this occurs in many parts of India.

From XI.

Smith, S. V. i. 29—p. 127.

Of the Fertility of India.

Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India, by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. [Kratothenes writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a

would seem to be the same as the former name Mâlana of the Munul and Sûri. I think it highly probable that both names may be intended for the celebrated mount Mûndub, to the south of 35° 30' N., which is said to have been used by the gods and demons in the charts of the oracle. The Mount Mûndub would agree well with the inhabitants of the Mulunah, a name which is the Mûndub of Ptolomy. The Mount Mûndub would therefore be the same people as Ptolomy's Mûndub, who occupied the tract between the Ganges and the Deccan. They are said to be the people of the Rajahs in the same part of India. Môlana . . . . . . .

The Mount Mûndub are the Mounts of Ptolomy, and they may be identified with the aboriginal Scaram of Sûela, a wild race of half-breeds who live in the jungles without any fixed habitation.”—Chalmers’s Anthology, p. 360.

winter and a summer coming: which both last a year; he says, is never found to be without rain at both those seasons; whence ensues a great abundance, since the soil is always productive. Much fruit is produced by trees: and the roots of plants, particularly of till roots, are sweet both by nature and by cohesion, since the moisture by which they are nourished is heated by the rays of the sun, whether it has fallen from the clouds or been drawn from the rivers. Eratosthenes uses here a peculiar expression: for what is called by others the ripening of fruits and the juices of plants is called among the Indians sation, which is more effectual in producing a good flavour as the cohesion by fire itself. To the heat of the water the same writer ascribes the wonderful flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels are made, as also the fact of there being trees on which wool grows.\[1\]

\[1\] From the vapours arising from such rich rivers, and from the Egyptian winds, as Eratosthenes states, India is watered by the summer rains, and the plains are overflowed. During these rains, accordingly, flax\[2\] is sown and millet, also sesamum, rye, and bonaram\[3\] and in the winter time wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculent fruits unknown to us.

\[2\] Flax, proper Greek word for flax is ἀθαλώσις. End the year, 13, p. 877:

\[3\] Aver, perhaps the Nereus, and a few years of Arabia.

\[4\] Bonaram—Strabo X. 1. 18.
According to Megasthenes, the largest tigers are found among the Pajari, being nearly twice the size of the lion, and so strong that a tame tiger led by four men having seized a mule by the hinder leg overpowered it and dragged it to him. The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are white except in the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame, and not of a malicious disposition: so that they neither attack man nor steal. Stones are dug up which are of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey. In some parts of the country there are serpents two cubits long which have membraneous wings like bats. They fly about by night, when they let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of persons not on their guard, with putrid sores. There are also winged scorpions of an extraordinary size.

Ebony grows there. There are also dogs of great strength and courage, which will not let go their hold till water is poured into their nostrils: they bite so eagerly that the eyes of some become distorted, and the eyes of others fall out. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by a dog. The bull was seized by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be taken off.
Of Indian Apes.

In the country of the Praxii,§ who are an Indian people, Megasthenes says there are apes not inferior in size to the largest dogs. They

§ From XIII. B.

Among the Praxii in India there is found, they say, a species of apes of human-like intelligence, and which are to appearance about the size of Hircanian dogs. Nature has furnished them with forelocks, which one ignorant of the reality would take to be artificial. Their chin, like that of a monkey, turns upward, and their tuft is like the paws of the lion. Their body is white all over except the face and the tip of the tail, which are of a reddish colour. They are very intelligent, and naturally tame. They are bred in the woods, where also they live, subsisting on the fruits which they find growing wild on the hills. They resort in great numbers to the suburbs of Lātāgo, an Indian city, where they eat rice which has been laid down for them by the king's order. In fact, every day a ready-prepared meal is set out for their use.

It is said that when they have satisfied their appetite they retire in an orderly manner to their haunts in the woods, without injuring a single thing that comes in their way.

§ The Pedægætes (i.e. Eastern) are called by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny Ἀπαράστος, Praxi; by Plutarch (Alex. 82) Ἀπαράστος, a name often used by Arrian also; by Nearchus Drusus (ap. Strab. Flor. 37, 38) Ἀπαράστος; by Diodorus (xiv. 90) Βρασάς; by Curtius (IX. 2, 3) Πρασίς; by Justin (vii. 8, 9) Πρασίλας. Megasthenes attempted to approximate more closely to the Sanskrit Pedægætes, for here he uses Ἀπαράστος. And it appears that Ἀπαράστος should be substituted for Ἀπαράστος in Stephani Byzant, since it comes between the words Ἀπαράστος and Ἀπαράστος. —Schwanhorski, p. 84, n. 6.
have tails five cubits long; hair grows on their forehead, and they have luxuriant beards hanging down their breast. Their face is entirely white, and all the rest of the body black. They are tame and attached to man, and not malicious by nature like the apes of other countries.

**Fragm. XIV.**


*Of Winged Scorpions and Serpents.*

Megasthenes says there are winged scorpions in India of enormous size, which sting Europeans and natives alike. There are also serpents which are likewise winged. These do not go abroad during the day, but by night, when they let fall urine, which if it lights upon any one's skin at once raises putrid sores thereon. Such is the statement of Megasthenes.

**Fragm. XV.**

Stule, XV. 1. 56—pp. 710-711.

*Of the Beasts of India, and the Reed.*

He (Megasthenes) says there are monkeys, rollers of rocks, which climb precipices whence they roll down stones upon their pursuers. Most animals, he says, which are tame with us are wild in India, and he speaks of horses which are one-horned and have heads like those of deer; and also of reeds some of which grow straight up to the height of thirty ǫργύριαι,|| while

|| The ǫργύρια was four cubits, or equal to 6 feet 1 inch.
other: grow along the ground to the length of fifty. They vary in thickness from three to six cubits in diameter.

elsing, Hist. Arm. XVI. 20, 21. Conf. Fregen. XV. 2, 1

Of some Beasts of India.

(20.) In certain districts of India (I speak of those which are most inland) they say there are inaccessible mountains infected by wild beasts, and which are also the haunts of animals like those of our own country except that they are wild: for even sheep, they say, run wild there, as well as dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at their own pleasure, being independent and free from the dominion of the herdsmen. That their number is beyond calculation is stated not only by writers on India, but also by the learned men of the country, among whom the Brahman.

deserve to be reckoned, whose testimony is to the same effect. It is also said that there exists in India a one-horned animal, called by the natives the Kuruñā. It is of the size of a full-grown horse, and has a crest, and yellow hair soft as wool. It is furnished with very good legs and is very fleet. Its legs are jointless and formed like those of the elephant, and it has a tail like a swine's. A horn sprouts out from between its eyebrows, and this is not straight, but curved into the most natural wreaths, and is of a black colour. It is said to be extremely sharp, this horn. The animal, as I learn, has a voice beyond all example loud-ringing and discordant. It allows other animals to approach it, and is good
The animals, though they say that with its congener it is rather quarrelsome. The males are reported to have a natural propensity not only to fight among themselves, by butting with their horns, but to display a like animosity against the female, and to be so obstinate in their quarrels that they will not desist till a worsted rival is killed outright. But, again, not only is every member of the body of this animal endowed with great strength, but such is the potency of its horn that nothing can withstand it. It loves to feed in secluded pastures, and wanders about alone; but at the rutting season it seeks the society of the female, and is then gentle towards her,—may, the two even feed in company. The season being over and the female pregnant, the Indian Kartosam again becomes ferocious and seeks solitude. The foals, it is said, are taken when quite young to the king of the Prsili, and are set to fight each other at the great public spectacles. No full-grown specimen is remembered to have ever been caught.

(21.) The traveller who crosses the mountains which skirt that frontier of India which is most inland meets, they say, with ravines which are clothed with very dense jungle, in a district called by the Indians Korouan. These ravines are said to be the haunts of a peculiar kind of animal shaped like a satyr, covered all over with shaggy hair, and having a tail like a horse's, depending from its rump. If these creatures are left unmolested, they keep within the copice, living on the wild fruits; but should they hear the hunter's
balloon and the baying of the hounds they start up
the precipices with incredible speed, for they are
habited to climbing the mountains. They
defend themselves by rolling down stones on
their assailants, which often kill those they hit.
The most difficult to catch are those which roll
the stones. Some are said to have been brought,
though with difficulty and after long intervals, to
the Praisli, but these were either suffering from
diseases or were females heavy with young, the
former being too weak to escape, and the latter
being impeded by the burden of the woom.—Conf.

FRAGM. XVII.
Of the Bea-Constriktor.
According to Megasthenes, serpents in India
grow to such a size that they swallow stagc and
bulls whole.

Solinus, s. 32. 33.
So huge are the serpents that they swallow stagc
whole, and other animals of equal size.

FRAGM. XVII.
Of the Electric Eel.
I learn from Megasthenes that there is in the
Indian Sea a small kind of fish which is never
seen when alive, as it always swims in deep
water, and only floats on the surface after it is
dead. Should any one touch it he becomes light
and swoon, —may even die at last.
Megasthenes says that Taprobane is separated from the mainland by a river; that the inhabitants are called Palaiogoni, and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India.

Selin. 58. 3.

Taprobane is separated from India by a

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A This island has been known by many names:
1. Lankā.—The only name it goes by in Sanskrit, and quite unknown to the Greeks and Romans.
2. Simudā or Paliusurdana.—Probably a Greek form of the Sanskrit Pali-Simudana. This name had gone out of use before the time of Ptolemy the Geographer.
3. Taprobane.—Sounded to represent the Sanskrit Taprobane (red-laved) or Tātopārni, a slightly altered form of the Pali Tānāparni, which is found in the inscription of Asoka on the Gombe rock. Vide ante, vol. V. p. 372.
4. Salame (perhaps proper Salano), Saravhavus, Sirvedhu, Sarvedhī, Zeltan, Ceylon. These are all considered to be derivatives from Śiṇān, the Pali form of Śiṇānā, 'the abode of Lankā.' The suffix dī represents the Sanskrit dīpa, 'an island.'
5. Lassen has tried to account for the name Palayanaon the basis of the semi-Indian Taprobane (P. p. 9).—"We must suppose that Megasthenes was acquainted with the Indian myth that the first inhabitants of the island were said to have been Palaeonones or giants, the sons of the progenitors of the world, whom he might not improperly call Palayanas.' Against this it may be remarked that, by this unusual term and no argumentum ex non-argumento, Megasthenes meant to name the nation, not describe it; and that that Megasthenes is not in the habit of translating names, but of rendering them according to sound with some degree of phonetic love, thus, shortening, writing the names Taprobane, of its capital Palaiogoni, quidem ad Palaiperaon. Accordingly as Lassen explains Palaiogoni, the name of the capital, by the Sanskrit Palai-utpāna (head of the sacred elephant), I would also prefer to explain the name of the Palaiogoni from the Sanskrit Pali-utpāna (head of the sacred elephant)."—Lassen, p. 55, a. 35.
river flowing between; for one part of it abounds
with wild beasts and elephants much larger than
India breeds, and man claims the other part.

FRAGMENT XIX.

Antiqu. Casm. 417.

Of Marine Trees.

Megasthenes, the author of the Indica, mentions
that trees grow in the Indian Sea.

FRAGMENT XX.

Arr. Ind. 4 3-13.

Of the Indus and the Ganges.$

See translation of Arrian.

FRAGMENT XX.B.


The Prinías$ and the Cainás (a tributary
of the Ganges) are both navigable rivers. The
tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the Calin-
gas,|| nearest the sea, and higher up the Mandei,
also the Malli, among whom is Mount Malillus,
the boundary of all that region being the Ganges.
Some have asserted that this river, like the Nile,
risest from unknown sources, and in a similar way
waters the country it flows through, while others
trace its source to the Scythian mountains. Nineteen
rivers are said to flow into it, of which, be-

$ Conf. Epit. 15-19, and Notes on Arrian, Ind. Ant. vol.
V. pp. 331, 332.

$ V. L. Parwaas.

|| A great and widely diffused tribe settled mainly be-
tween the Mahanadi and the Godavari. Their capital was
Purvaalas (called by Polosky Kalligra), on the
Mahanadi, higher up than the site of Katar. The same is
preserved in Koringa, a great port at the mouth of the
Godavari.
sides those already mentioned, the Conococheague, Canceague, and Soumas are navigable. According to other accounts, it bursts at once with thundering roar from its fountain, and tumbling down a steep and rocky channel lodges in a lake as soon as it reaches the level plain, whence it issues forth with a gentle current, being nowhere less than eight miles broad, while its mean breadth is a hundred miles, and its least depth twenty fathoms.  

Soln. 32. 67.

In India the largest rivers are the Ganges and the Indus,—the Ganges, as some maintain, rising from uncertain sources, and, like the Nile,

V. L. Caernarvon, Vamam.

* "The Bhagpati (which we shall here regard as the true Ganges) first comes to light near Gadgopuri, in the territory of Garhwal, in lat. 30° 54', long. 79° 7', issuing from under a very low arch, at the base of a great snow-heap, estimated to be 600 feet thick, which lies between the lofty mountains termed St. Patrick, St. George, and the Pyramid, the two higher having elevations above the sea, respectively, of 22,785 and 22,664 feet, and the other on the opposite side, having an elevation of 31,579. From the brow of this curious wall of snow, and immediately above the outlet of the stream, large and heavy icicles depend. They are formed by the freezing of the melted snow-water at the top of the bed; for in the middle of the day the sun is powerful, and the water produced by its action falls over this place in cascade, but is frozen at night... At Siertanj the river may be said to break through the 'Himilaya Proper,' and the elevation of the waterway is here 7,008 feet. At Dvargra it is joined on the left side by the Alakmanda... From Dvargra the united stream is now called the Ganges... Its descent by the Dehra Dun is rather rapid to Hardwâr... sometimes called Gangeswara, or 'the gate of the Ganges,' being situated on its western or right bank at the southern base of the Sidâl range; here intersected by a ravine or gorge by which the river, finally leaving the mountains, region, commences its course over the plains of Hindustan. The breadth of the river in the rainy season... is represented to be a full mile."—Thomson.
thickly overflows its banks, while others think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. In India there is also the Ḥūparis, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the auxilia set up on its banks testify. The lead breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and the greatest twenty. Its depth where least is fully one hundred feet.

Conf. Fragm. XXV. 1.

Some say that the least breadth is thirty miles; but others only three; while Megasthenes says that the mean breadth is a hundred miles, and its least depth twenty oxorgues.

FRAGMENT XXI.
Xen. Ind. 6. 23.
Of the River Sīlawa.

See translation of Arrian.

FRAGMENT XXII.
Of the River Sīlawa.

There is in India a river called the Sīlawa, named after the fountain from which it flows, on which nothing will float that is thrown into

† The name of the Ḥūparis or Sīlawa.
† Strabo, Vol. I. p. 47, and afterwards an anonymous writer whom Upham (ad Callophes, fragm. p. 418) has praised, and whose account may have been in Balsam, Acad. Græc. 1. 189. The name is written Sīlāra in Diodorus, and Sīlārā, but best Sīlās, in the edition of Strabo, and in the Acad. Græc. Bähr, 509, has collected the passage from Diodorus. Lessing has also illustrated the title Geographie, II. 68, from Indian literature.†† The Indians think that the river Sīlawa is in the north, that it penetrates everything plunged in it, whereas everything inside and nothing outside' (Conf. Hidabhat, II. 186) has grown, a story—see n. p. 47, n. 27.
but everything else is the bottom, contrary to the usual law.

**Præm. XXIII.**

s. XV. 1. 25—p. 781.

*Of the River Ganges.*

(Sepechandu says) that in the mountainous country is a river, the Shus, on the waters of which nothing will float. Démokritos, who had travelled over a large part of Asia, disbelieves this, as does Aristotele.

**Præm. XXIV.**

s. XV. 1. 26—p. 781.

*Of the Number of Indian Rivers.*

See translation of Archim.

**BOOK II.**

**Præm. XXV.**

s. XV. 1. 27—p. 781.

*Of the City Pataliputra.*

According to Sepechanda's the mean breadth (of the Ganges) is 199 1/2 miles, and its mean depth 20 fathoms. As the meeting of this river and another is named Palabakhana, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth. It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is girded with a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for defense and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this city is situated is known as Palaksha, lord in all India, and is called in Pers. *Thakan*. The King, in addition to his family...
tions, and adopt the manners of their fathers.

All the country beyond the Macassar is said to be very fertile; but India is properly known nowhere. It is difficult to estimate the extent of the country, but it is

India, for all are called Ausur, and each has its own peculiar name, e. g., Ghur, Thordak, or some other.

Of Paladipper and the Monkeys of the Indians.

It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the

This was not the name of any particular nation, but was variously used to designate the inhabitants of the region producing silk, of which 80 is the name in Chine

The general opinion places this region (Siris) in Eastern Asia, and the author mentions it as not also being visited by the merchant and sailor, and the different parts of the India, in Asia, and north in Europe. The opinion first met with in India.
virtues which men have displayed in life, and
the songs in which their praises are celebrated
sufficient to preserve their memory after death.

But of their cities it is said that the number is
so great that it cannot be stated with precision,
but that such cities as are situated on the banks
of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood
instead of brick, being meant to last only for a
time,—so destructive are the heavy rains which
pour down, and the rivers also when they over-
flow their banks and inundate the plains,—while
those cities which stand on commanding situa-
tions and lofty eminences are built of brick and
mud; that the greatest city in India is that
which is called Pāli in bothra, in the domi-
nions of the Pāsānikas, where the streams of
the Barhāhons and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and
the Barhāhons being perhaps the third largest
of Indian rivers, though greater than the great-
est rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the
Ganges where it falls into it. Mānasthōnēs
informs us that this city stretched in the in-
habited quarters to an extreme length on each
side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was
fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it
all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth
and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall
was crowned with 370 towers and had four-and-
sixty gates. The same writer tells us further
this remarkable fact about India, that all the
Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedameans and the Indians are here so far in agreement. The Lakedameans, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

FROM XXVII.

Strab. XV. i. 53-56.—pp. 789-90.

Of the Manners of the Indians.

The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They dislike a great, unskilled multitude, and consequently they observe good order. Theft is of very rare occurrence. Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred drachms, and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and must therefore in all the business of life trust to memory. They live, nevertheless, happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is...
proved by the fact that they seldom go to bed. They have not the least desire to retire, nor do they require anything from without, but make their places and tables in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober senses; but other things they do which one cannot approve: for instance, that they are always alone, and that they have no fixed home, when much are to be taken by all in common, but each one uses what he finds inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.

Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by pressing a smooth, damp roller over the skin. Their sexes are plain, and the women raised over the dead body. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them; for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks. Truth and virtues they hold little in esteem. Hence they cannot use special privileges to the aged unless they possess superior wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents, giving...
to exchange a year of war, when they were hoping to find in time, willing helpers or and others for places and to fill their homes with children. The wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste. No onewho's a crown, at a sacrifice or dedication, and they do not fail the victor, but strangle it, so that nothing mutilated, but only what is entire, may be presented to the deity.

A person convicted of hearing false witnesses suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who murders any one not only suffers in return the loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes an acrimon to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death. The same writer says that none of the Cushites employ slaves; [but Gassikoros says that this was peculiar to that part of the country over which Husikamos ruled.]

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who are also bought from their parents. The garrisons and the rest of the soldiery attend outside the gates. A woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and by night he is obliged to change his couch from

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1. The palace lay in Boston, where the Turks of the land and the capital was probably near it.
2. The palace and temple in which the capital of Egypt was located was near it.
time to time, with a view to defeat plots against his life. §

The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but also for the purpose of judging causes. He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person,—that is, when he is to be rubbed with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice; a third is to go to the chase, for which he departs in Bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him, and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death, for man and woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosure, and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women, some are in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons.

§ "The present king of Ava, who evidently belongs to the Indo-Chinese type, although he claims a Kshatriya origin, leads a life of seclusion very similar to that of Bodhideras. He sleeps in his bedroom every night, as a safeguard against sudden treachery." (Wheeler's *Hist. of India*, vol. III, p. 12, note.)
of every kind as if they were going on a campaign."

[These customs are very strange when compared with our own, but the following are still more so;] for Megasthenes states that the tribes inhabiting the Kankasos have intercourse with women in public, and cut the bales of their relatives, and that there are monkeys which roll down stones, &c. (Plutarch, Tris., fol. 13, and then Plutarch, XXIX.)

Fragm. XXVII. B.

Athana. VI. 4. 4

The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities. — Cant. Suid. 1. 75.

Fragm. XXVII. C.

Neid. Danay. 11; Stat. S.c. 32.

Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blittle him (for lending a loan).

Fragm. XXVII. D.

Neid. Danay. 11; Stat. S.c. 42.

He who causes an ant to lose his eye or his hand is put to death. If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be

\[ \text{[In the days of Alexander, when the Indians were represented as attacked in the chase by women, with bows in their hands, and arrows coated of with honey. — Herod. i. 33. 230. 341.]} \]

\[ \text{[For the evidence of both practices among certain Indian tribes.]} \]
cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infernal.

From. XXVIII.

Athen. iv. p. 123.

Of the Suppurers of the Indians.

Megæthnous, in the second book of his Indische, says that when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled at one would boil barley, and then they add many flavories prepared according to Indian receipts.

From. XXIX.

Strab. XV. i. 57.—p. 711.

Of fabulous tribes.

But deviating into fables he says there are men five spans and even three spans in height, some of whom want the nose, having only two orifices above the mouth through which they breathe. * Against the men of three spans, war, as Homer has sung, is waged by the cranes, and also by partridges, which are as large as geese.†

* Cf. Strab. II. i. 9.—p. 70.—Demochos and Megasthenes are especially worthy of credit. It is they who tell those stories about the men who sleep in their ears, the men without months, the men without nostrils, the man with one eye, the man with long legs, and the man with their feet turned backward. They related Homer's fable about the battle between the Giants and the Pygmies, relating that the latter were three spans in height. They told of the giant that dig the body of Pan with wedge-shaped bones, and of serpent swallowed down earth and stones, born and all — the one author meanwhile speaking the other as idle. The other has remarked.

† Kirises in his Indische mentions Pygmies as belonging to India. The Indians themselves considered them as belonging to the race of the Kirises, a barbarous people who inhabited woods and mountains and lived by hunting, and who were so diminutive that their name became a synonym.
These people collect and destroy the eggs of the crane, for it is in their country the cranes lay their eggs, and thus the eggs and the young cranes are not to be found anywhere else. Frequently a crane escapes having the bronzes point of a weapon in its body, from wounds received in that country. 3 Equally absurd is the account given of the Enothokoiol.†

for dwarf. They were thought to hold with vultures and eagles. As they were of Mongolian origin, the Indians represented them with the distinctive features of that race, but with their regularities exaggerates. Hence Moneta
the sphere of the Sunken, now without name who had merely breathing-breath one the world. The Sunken are no doubt identical with the Syrocinus (V. L. Syrocinus) of Pliny and the Struma of the Persians. 3 They were not.

† The Enothokoiol are called by Sanskrit hālārāmās, and are frequently referred to in the great epics—e.g. Mahābhārata. III. 1770, 1773. The opinion was universally prevalent among the Indians that hindus.

being had harnessed among the Indians. Not barbarous:

vain mention; but also Kālāmās, Kālārāms, Kālarāms (i.e. long or huge oxi) Utrisaba (i.e. no longer alive), Otrisaba (i.e. having the ears close to the lips), Prakik三亚 (i.e. having hands for ears). Schramb. 36. It is easy," says Wheelock (Hist. Ind. vol. 111. p. 176).

"For any one conversant with India to point out the

origin of many of the so-called races. The races are not

as big as long, but they are very extraordinary creatures.

The stories of men pulling up trees, and using them as

dubs, are common enough in the Mahābhārata, especially

in the legend of the eclipses of the sun. Men do not

have ears hanging down to their noses, but both men and

women will occasionally pluck their ears after a very

extraordinary manner by tearing off parts through the

lips. " I met one story more than another which excited the wrath of Shankar. It was that of a

people whose ears hung down to their feet. Yet too story

is still current in Hindustan. Bābīl Jumali Ḍī's says—

"An old woman once told me that her husband, a chief

in the British army, had seen a people who slept in coffins

and covered themselves with the softer. (Hindustān Man-

acriro Todacgu, London, 1814.)" The few may be referred to the Bundi, etc. (p. 3), who travelled.
of the wild men, and of other monsters. The wild men could not be brought to Sparta, for they refused to take food and drink. Their heads are in front, and the instep and toes are turned backwards. Some were brought to the court who had no mouths and were tame. They dwelt near the sources of the Ganges, and subsisted on the savour of roasted flesh and the perfumes of fruits and flowers, having instead of mouths orifices through which they breathe. They are distressed with things of evil smell, and hence, it is with difficulty they keep their hold on life, especially in a camp. Referring to the other monstrousities, the philosophers told him of the Oxyopes, a people who ran on the backs of horses, who had ears running down to their feet, so that they could sleep in them, and were so strong that they could pull up trees and break a bowstring. Of others the Monomotaoi, who have the

in India about 1385, says that a people in Bactria had once a span long.11

10 Those wild men are mentioned both by Strabo and Aratus. They were called Antipoedai on account of their bareness, and were reckoned among the Phalangian races, though they are often referred to in the Indian epics under the name Grelshaka, et cetera, of which the immediate origin of Megalopoleio is an exact translation. E. H. Schaander, 69.

11 The Monomotaoi are translated into Greek, with slight changes, as the Makedaoi, Makedai, Pardoes, and Pardai. The name of Antipoedai, the kindred antecedent of both, the quality indicated by the Greek form. The Monomotaoi are mentioned by Strabo, who confounded them with the Skotopolei, the men who covered themselves with the shades of their feet.
...at of a dog, their one eye set in the middle of their forehead, the hair standing erect, and their breasts sloughy: * of the Ἀμάκτῆρες also, a people without nostrils, who devour everything, eat raw meat, and are short-lived, and die before old age supervenes.* The upper part of the mouth protrudes far over the lower lip. * With regard to the Ἐπερμοῖοι, who live a thousand years, they give the same account as Simonides, Pindar, and other mythological writers.† The story told by Timagenes, that

† What Megasthenes here mentions as the characteristics of a single people, they attributed to several. The one-eyed men they are wont to call Θεόπρατοι or Θεόφηλατοι. The men with tails, they called Θεώκρατοι or Θεόκρατοι. Indian Cyprises even are mentioned under the name of Ἐπερμοῖοι, including one eye in the forehead; vide Schwante 20.

‡ That the Ἀμάκτῆρες are mentioned in the Indian books, we cannot doubt as well as in the case of the Ἀνακτῖδες, whom Hesychius describes as Ἀγαγάγας, Ἀγασάγας, Ἀγασάγας. Nevertheless the very words of the description are agreed that he followed the narratives of the Indians, for the words Ἐπερμοῖοι, &c., by which he has described the Ἀμάκτῆρες, are very rarely used in Greek, and are translations of Indian words.† Schwante 69.

§ Pindar, who besides the Ἐπερμοῖοι names here about the months of the later, thus sings of them—

"But who will venture across the waste
The Hyperborean waste and wide unlimned
Ever round the windy way?
These beings passed afar,
And built the rock amidst their strange abode
Where heathen gods are vain:
To see the radiant god
Adorned he himself. Their rude colonnades.
Their barbarous sheets, Apollo's mans delight:
Longing, the campful brave he sees
Touch all the solemn fires
Still their sight, their numbers change.
Shine not the 'Stars', what, all around
flowers fall of drops of copper, which see say together, is a fable. 11 "Mephistopheles's "skeletone what is more open to belief, since the same is.

The dancing virgins range,
And melodious and piercing pipes resound.
With heads of golden hair adorned
Their soft necks lent for they bind,
And from the hand the golden hair.
Not fond disease, nor wanting lane,
Visit the sacred grove; nor were they want.
Nor told for wealth or power." 12 (Ovid, Pythian ode, II. 40 to 62. A. Moore's metrical version.)

Mephistopheles had the perspicacity to perceive that the Greek belief in the Hyperboreans had an Indian source in the fables recorded by the Upanishads. This word means literally the 'Kara of the North.' "The history of origin," says P. V. de Saint-Martin, "of the Sanskrit appellation of the winter is unknown, but its reception never varies. In all the documents of the Vedic literature, in the great poems, in the Puranas, wherever it occurs, the word is found. It pertains to the domain of myth and mytho-cabalistic geography. Upanisadism is intended in the utmost sense of the word in the Vedas, which contain several thousands of verses. As the source of all the knowledge of the universe is the Vedas, so the source of all knowledge is the Vedas. The Vedas are the ultimate source of all knowledge."

Like the Hyperborean region of the Western mythology, this too enjoys the happy privilege of an eternal spring, equally eternal from east to west and from north to south. This is the source of all knowledge, and the source of all the knowledge of the world unknown. . . . It is clear enough that this land of the sky is not of our world.

11 In the treachery of the Egyptians after the expedition of Alexander, the Greeks became acquainted with these fictions of Hyperborean poetry, as well as with the multitude of other fictions which made them hold India a land of marvels. Mephistopheles, like the Greeks before him, had collected a great number of such stories, and either from his own sources or from contemporary narratives, such as that of Diodorus, the fable of the Hyperboreans had spread to the West, and to what Diodorus tells us (ib. 17, p. 319), the Ambassadors had composed a fable reciting the arguments in defense of the fable of the Hyperboreans. It is certainly from this fable that Phrynion, the two lines which he delivered to his Attic friend, "that a grave of mountains natural such
the case in Bactria, that the rivers carry down a gold dust, and that a part of this is paid by way of tribute to the king.

FROM XXX.


Of fabulous races.

According to Megasthenes, on a mountain called Nulín there live men whose feet are turned

the sun sheltered them from the blasts of northern winds, and that they enjoyed, like the Hyperboreans, an eternal spring.

\[ \text{Gen. landw. Alteor., near b. m. v. A. au. xxxvii.} \]

Wagner transfers this description to the Siron in general, of whom the Atremon of Pliny form part, and some modern writers (Musset, vol. IV. p. 258, 1-75; Pechereau, Annales de Geogr., vol. II. p. 172, 1915) have believed they could see in it a reference to the great wall of China. We see from a host of examples besides this, that the poetic fables and popular legends of India had taken, in passing into the Greek narratives, an appearance of reality, and a sort of historical exactness. (Bohle sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, pp. 313-414.)

Schweineck (p. 79) quotes Lasen, who writes somewat to the same effect:—"Utambura is a part of Siron, and is the first accounts of India come to the West from the Siron, perhaps in part of the description of the peaceful happy life of the Siron is to be explained from the Indian stories of the Utambura. The story of the long life of the Siron may be similarly explained, especially when Megasthenes records the life attained by the Hyperboreans at 1009 years. The Pechereau (VI. 25) says that the Utambura live 1999 or 10,000 years. We conclude from this that Megasthenes also wrote of the Utambura, and that he did improperlyركدن their name by that of the Hyperboreans. (Vogel, H. 67.)

† Not Spain, but the country between the Black Sea and the Caucasus, now called Caucasia.

§ V. L. Nalbo.
had eight feet on each side, while in many of the mountains there lives a race of men having heads like those of dogs, who are clothed with the skins of wild beasts, whose speech is barking, and who, being armed with spears, live by hunting and fishing.) Ktesias asserts on his own authority that the number of these men was upwards of 120,000, and that there is a race in India whose females bear offspring for a year, and in the course of their life, and that their children become at once grey-haired.

Megasthenes speaks of a race of men among the Nomadie Indians, who instead of acctivities, whose legs are covered with long hair, and who are called Scythia. He speaks also of a race living on the very confines of India on the east, near the source of the Ganges, the Astomi, who have no teeth, who cover their body, which is all covered with the soft down found upon the hoes of beasts, and who live merely by breathing, and the perfume innately by the nostrils. They eat nothing, and they drink nothing. They require merely a variety of odours; and the honey and the wild apples. The apples they carry with them, when they go on a distant journey, that they may always have something to smell. The strong smell would readily kill them.

*Called by Kautilya Scythians and in Sanskrit Sanskrit of Nandin.

*Called by Ktesias Scythians and in Sanskrit Sanskrit of Nandin.
Beyond the As t o m i, in the remoted part of the mountains, the T r i s p i l h a m i and the P y g m i e s are said to have their abode. They are each three spans in height—that is, not more than seven-and-twenty inches. Their climate is salubrious and they enjoy a perpetual spring, under shelter of a barrier of mountains which rise on the north. They are the same whom Homer mentions as being harassed by the attacks of the cranes. The story about them is—that mounted on the backs of rams and goats, and equipped with arrows, they march down in spring-time all in a body to the sea, and destroy the eggs and the young of these birds. It takes them always three months to finish this yearly campaign, and were it not undertaken they could not defend themselves against the vast flocks of subsequent years. Their huts are made of clay and feathers and egg-shells. [Aristotle says that they live in caves, but otherwise he gives the same account of them as others.]... [a] From Kúsis we learn that there is a people belonging to this race, which is called P a n d o c r ã and settled in the valleys, who live two hundred years, having in youth hoary hair, which in old age turns black. On the other hand, others do not live beyond the age of forty,—nearly related to the M a c r o b i i, whose women bear offspring but once. Agatharchidas says the same of them, adding that they subsist on locusts, and are swift of foot.] * Clitarchus and
Magnelium called them Mandi,† and reckon the number of their villages at three hundred. The females bear children at the age of seven, and are old women at forty.‡

From. XXXI.

Near a mountain which is called Nulo there live men whose feet are turned backwards and have eight toes on each foot. Magnelium writes that on different mountains in India there are tribes of men with dog-shaped heads, armed with claws, clothed with skins, who speak not in the accents of human language, but only bark, and have fierce grinning jaws. In Kītāna we read that in some parts the females bear offspring but once, and that the children are white-hair'd from their birth, &c.

Those who live near the source of the Ganges, requiring nothing in the shape of food, subsist on the colour of wild apples, and when they go on a long journey they carry those with them for safety of their life, which they can support by inhaling their perfume. Should they inhale very foul air, death is inevitable.

From. XXXII.

Plutarch, de facie in orbe terrae. (Opp. ed. Reiss, tom. i. p. 741.)

Of the race of men without mouths.†

For how could one find growing there that

† Possibly we should read Pālūda, unless perhaps Magnelium referred to the inhabitants of Mount Manzara.

‡ Conf. Fragm. L. 1. II.

† Conf. Fragm. XXIX. 3, XXX. 8.
Indian root which Megasthenes says a race of men who neither eat nor drink, and in fact have not even mouths, set on fire and burn like incense, in order to sustain their existence with its odorous flames, unless it received moisture from the moon?

BOOK III.

From XXXII.

Hist. Nat. VI. xxi. 2, 3.

(See the translation of Avian's Indica.)

From XXXIII.


Of the Seven Caste among the Indians.

(39) According to him (Megasthenes) the population of India is divided into seven parts. The philosophers are first in rank, but form the smallest class in point of number. Their services are employed privately by persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites, and also publicly by the kings at what is called the Great Synod, wherein at the beginning of the new year all the philosophers are gathered together before the king at the gates, when any philosopher who may have committed any useful suggestion in writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declares it publicly. If any one is detected giving false information thrice, the law condemns him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.
(40) The second class consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. It therefore not unfrequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen drawn up in array of battle, and fighting at risk of their lives, while other men close at hand are ploughing and digging in perfect security, having those soldiers to protect them. The whole of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce.

(41) The third class consists of herdsmen and hunters, who alone are allowed to hunt, and to keep cattle, and to sell draught animals or let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seed sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the king. They lead a wandering life and live under tents.

Fragment XXXVI. follows here.

[So much, then, on the subject of wild animals. We shall now return to Megasalmis, and resume from where we digressed.]

(42) The fourth class, after herdsmen and hunters, consists of those who work in bricke, of those who vend wares, and of those who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay tribute, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armament-makers and shipbuilders receive wages and their victuals from the king, for whom
alone they work. The general in command of the army supplies the soldiers with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise.

47. The fifth class consists of fighting men, who, when not engaged in active service, pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence they are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.

48. The sixth class consists of the overseers, to whom is assigned the duty of watching all that goes on, and making reports secretly to the king. Some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their conditors the courtiers of the city, and the latter the courtiers of the camp. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.

The seventh class consists of the councillors and assessors of the king. To them belong the highest posts of government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs.

The Greek writers, by confusing some distinctions occasioned by civil engagement with those arising from that division have increased the number of classes from five (including the handmaidsen or maid class) to seven. This number is produced by their supposing the king's councillors and assessors to form a distinct class from the Belemites; by splitting the class of Valians into two, consisting of skincap and headcloth or introducing a caste of slaves; and by uniting the several classes altogether. With these exceptions the classes are in the state described by Moso, which is the groundwork of that still subsisting.—B Philostrato's History of Lucian, p. 296.
own state, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher, who for his virtue is allowed this privilege.

FRAC. XXXIV.


Of the administration of public affairs.

Of the use of Horses and Elephants.

(Proem. XXXIII. has preceded this.)

§ 60. Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. *The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. *They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances. *Those who have charge of the city are...
divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them.

The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death.

Such are the functions which these bodies...
separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours, and temples.

Next to the city magistrates there is a third governing body, which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to cooperate with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanics and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with dispatch and safety. 11 The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. 12 There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. 13 They use the elephants without bridle. The chariots are drawn on the marsh-
by oxen, but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. In addition to the charioteer, there are two fighting men who sit up in the chariot beside him. The war-elephant carries four men—three who shoot arrows, and the driver. (Fragm. XXVII. follows.)

Fragm. XXXV.

Julian, Hist. Annu. XIII. 10.

Of the use of Horses and Elephants.


When it is said that an Indian by springing forward in front of a horse can check his speed and hold him back, this is not true of all Indians, but only of such as have been trained from boyhood to manage horses; for it is a practice with them to control their horses with bit and bridle, and to make them move at a measured pace and in a straight course. They neither, however, gill their tongues by the use of spiked muzzles, nor torture the roof of their mouth. The professional trainers break them in by forcing them to gallop round and round in a ring, especially when they see them refractory. Such as undertake this work require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of

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[11] The fourfold division of the army (horses, foot, chariots, and elephants) was the same as that of Mithridates; but Strabo makes a sestuple division, by adding the commissariat and naval departments. [2]
horses. The greatest proficient test their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-nerved steeds when whirling round in a circle. The chariot carries two men who sit beside the charioteer. The war-elephant, either in what is called the tower, or on his bare back in sooth, carries three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the side, while one shoots from behind. There is also a fourth man, who carries in his hand the goad wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as the pilot and captain of a ship direct its course with the helm.

Fragment. XXXVI.
Strab. XV. 1. 41-45,—pp. 764-765.
Of Elephants.
Conf. Epit. 54-56.
(Fragment XXXIII. 6 has preceded this.)

A private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them. 2 The manner of hunting the elephant is this. Round a bare patch of ground is dug a deep trench about five or six stadia in extent, and over this is thrown a very narrow bridge which gives access to the enclosure. 3 Into this enclosure are introduced three or four of the best-trained female elephants. The men themselves lie in ambush in concealed huts. 4 The wild
elephants do not approach this trap in the daytime, but they enter it at night, going in one by one. When all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it up; then, introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger. When the latter are now overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each man creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his feet together. When this is done they incite the tame ones to beat those whose feet are tied till they fall to the ground. They then bind the wild ones and the tame ones together neck to neck with thongs of raw ox-hide. To prevent them shaking themselves in order to throw off those who attempt to mount them, they make cuts all round their neck and then put thongs of leather into the incisions, so that the pain obliges them to submit to their fetters and to remain quiet. From the number caught they reject such as are too old or too young to be serviceable, and the rest they lead away to the stables. Here they tie their feet one to another, and fasten their necks to a firmly fixed pillar, and tame them by hunger. After this they restore their strength with green reeds and grass. They next teach them to be obedient, which they effect by soothing them, some by
owing words and others by songs and the
music of the drum. Few of them are found
difficult to tame, for they are naturally so mild
and gentle in their disposition that they approx-
imate to rational creatures. Some of them take
up their drivers when fallen in battle, and
carry them off in safety from the field. Others,
when their masters have sought refuge between
their forelegs, have fought in their defence and
saved their lives. If in a fit of anger they
kill either the man who feeds or the man who
trains them, they pine so much for their loss
that they refuse to take food, and sometimes
die of hunger.

They copulate like horses, and the female
casts her calf chiefly in spring. It is the season
for the male, when he is in heat and becomes
ferocious. At this time he discharges a fatty
substance through an orifice near the temples.
It is also the season for the females, when the
corresponding passage opens. They go with
young for a period which varies from sixteen to
eighteen months. The dam suckles her calf
for six years. Most of them live as long as
men who attain extreme longevity, and some live
over two hundred years. They are liable to many
distempers, and are not easily cured. The
remedy for diseases of the eye is to wash it with
cows' milk. For most of their other diseases
draughts of black wine are administered to them.
For the cure of their wounds they are made to
swallow butter, for this draws out iron. Their horns are honed with swine's flesh.

Fragm. XXXVII.

Arr. Ind. ch. 12-11.
(See the translation of Arrian's Indica.)

[Fragment XXXVII. B.]

Zelian, Hist. Anim. XII. 44.

Of Elephants.

(Cf. Fragm. XXXVI. 9-10 and XXXVII. 9-10
and e. XIV.)

In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is difficult to tame, and longing for freedom thaws for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this evaporates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, coax it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use which has four strings and is called a situtaptr. The creature now picks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outburst of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its chains, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest invited to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

Fragm. XXXVIII.


Of the diseases of Elephants.

(Cf. Fragm. XXXVI. 15 and XXXVII. 15.)

The Indians cure the wounds of the elephants which they catch, in the manner following:—

They treat them in the way in which, as good old
Homer tells us, Patroklos treated the wound of Eurypylus,—they fomented it with lukewarm water. After this they rub them over with butter, and if they are deep alay the inflammation by applying and inserting pieces of pork, but but still retaining the blood. They care ophthalmia with cows’ milk, which is first used as a fomentation for the eye, and is then injected into it. The animals open their eyelids, and finding they can see better are delighted, and are sensible of the benefit like human beings. In proportion as their blindness diminishes their delight overflows, and this is a token that the disease has been cured. The remedy for other distempers to which they are liable is black wine; and if this potion fails to work a cure nothing else can save them.

FRAGM. XXXIX.
Strab. XV. l. 44,—p. 796.

Of Gold-digging Ants. *

Megasthenes gives the following account of these ants. Among the Derdas, a great tribe of Indians, who inhabit the mountains on the

* See Index, Ant. vol. IV. pp. 225 seqq., where recent arguments are adduced to prove that the ‘gold-digging ants’ were originally neither, as the ancient supposed, real ants, nor as so many eminent men of learning have supposed, beaver ants; Dr. Marshall for ants on account of their appearance and subterranean habits, but Tibetan miners, whose mode of life and dress was in the most ancient antiquity exactly what they are at the present day.
eastern borders,† there is an elevated plateau about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and here accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter.§ They throw up heaps of earth, as moles do, at the mouth of the mines. The gold-dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off. If they came openly the ants would attack them, and pursue them if they fled, and would destroy both them and their cattle. So, to effect the robbery without being observed, they lay down in several different places pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the ants are by this device dispersed they carry off the gold-dust.

† These are the Dârdas of Pliny, the Dâradrai of Ptolemy, and the Dâradas of Sanskrit literature. "The Dârdas are not an extinct race. According to the accounts of modern travellers, they consist of several wild and predatory tribes dwelling among the mountains on the northwest frontier of Khâmir and by the banks of the Indus."  

Ind. Ant. loc. cilt.


The miners of Thol-Jaling, in spite of the cold, prefer working in winter; and the number of their tents, which in summer accounts to three hundred, rises to nearly six hundred in winter. They prefer the winter, as the frozen soil then stands well, and is not likely to tumble them much by falling in."—Id.
This they sell to any trader they meet with, while it is still in the state of ore, for the art of fusing metals is unknown to them.]

Fragm. XL.

Art. Ind. XV.3-7.

(See the translation of Arran's Judaea.)

[Fragm. XL B.]

Dio Chrysost. Or. 55.—p. 326, Morell.

Of Ants which dig for gold.

(Cf. Fragm. XXXIV. and XL.)

They get the gold from ants. These creatures are larger than foxes, but are in other respects like the ants of our own country. They dig holes in the earth like other ants. The heap which they throw up consists of gold the purest and brightest in all the world. The mounds are piled up close to each other in regular order like hillocks of gold dust, whereby all the plain is made effulgent. It is difficult, therefore, to look towards the sun, and many who have attempted to do this have thereby destroyed their eyesight. The people who are next neighbours to the ants, with a view to plunder these heaps, cross the intervening desert, which is of no great extent, mounted on wagons to which they have yoked their swiftest horses. They arrive at noon, a time when the ants have gone underground, and at

|| Το ουροστα των ἐπίθρων. If the different reading τοιο ουροστα των ἐπίθρων be adopted, the rendering is, "They dispose of it to merchants at any price."

to prevent all apprehension, the people of the Bay.

The whole of Josephson and Polk's, and their

strike, which is dealt from the one and

enough went to such not only the fine and

plague warship. Indeed, those economic and

theosophy, who live on the

governing, which are theosophists within.

charge in its simplest form. The irons, the

causal with the condition they observe the

cast in the 'market,' which is regulated by

cause in the Bay, from which are found beyond the periphery,

of which are found beyond the periphery, on

and the box, and other organizations, those

and the Ivy, and the brilliant, and the multitude,

when, when it passes in these countries, who

profits from the same amount, the

practical, and weigh them on. The

Practical, XXIX. 4th (Letter, No.

Of the Theosophists,


Practical, XXIX.
phrases, and throughout a great part of each of these countries good vines grow, and good wine is produced.] (39) Megasthenes makes a different division of the philosophers, saying that they are of two kinds—one of which he calls the Brāhmanas, and the other the Sāmanas. The Brāhmanas are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as

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* "Since the word Σαρώως (the form used by Clement of Alexandria) corresponds to the letter with the Sanskrit word Samana (i.e. an ascetic), it is evident that the forms Παρώως and Περώως, which are found in all the MSS. of Strabo, are incorrect. The mistake need not surprise us, since the ΣΑ when closely written together differ little in form from the syllable ΓΑ. In the same way Clement's Αλλικημι must be changed into Strabo's Ελλημι, corresponding with the Sanskrit Kṣatpāh—which is one of the first three castes—who, after the term of the Kṣatriya, says Glidd, has entered the third Brāhmanic order, and has proceeded (contributing to) a life in the woods (Vāra)."—Schmiendrick, p. 66; H. H. Wilson, C. E. C. 

"It is a cruel question," he adds, "who the Sāmanas were, some considering them to be Buddhists, and others denying them to be so. Which view is preferred on both sides, but the opinion of those seems to approach nearer the truth who contend that they were Buddhists."
they advance in age each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The heavier is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security.† They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have

† "A mistake of the Greek writers originates in their ignorance of the real art of a philosopher's life. Thus they speak of one who had been for many years a socratic youth and returning to common life following probably in a student, having completed the instruction of the first period, become a householder." (Plato's Republic, text.) There is also remarked that the writer remarks the rising of the housewife which is done to their advantage by those and respect, meeting it extend in all cases to thirty, even which is the greatest age in which they retire. If 100, it predicts it in any case to be protracted.
numerous children, for by having many wives greater advantages are enjoyed, and, since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants.

The Brahmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers: for no one who despises pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wishes to be in subjection to another, but this is characteristic both of a good man and of a good woman.

Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dream-like illusion, else how could some be affected with sorrow, and others with pleasure, by the very same things, and how could the same things affect the same individuals at different times with these opposite emotions?

Their ideas about physical phenomena, the same author tells us, are very crude, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, inasmuch as their belief is in great measure
based upon fables; yet on many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical, and that the Deity who made it, and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts.

They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced. The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment, and kindred topics, in allegories, after the manner of Plato. Such are his statements regarding the Brahmans.

(60) Of the Sarmannes§ he tells us that

3 Aitāra, 'the ether or sky.'
4 Schönbeck argues from the distinct separation here made between the Brahmanas and the Sarmannes, as well as from the name Sarmannes being especially applied to Brahmans, that the latter are here meant. They are called Sarmannes by Chandrika (ep. Purusha. Abhin. IV. 17) and Alex. Polyhistor (ep. Cycl. contra Julianum. IV. p. 168 E., ed. Paris, 1889; Conf. also Henoxyn ed. Justinian. Th. ed. Paris, 1889, T. II. Hr. p. 986). And this is just the Poli name Sansannā, the equivalent of the Sanscrit Sansāra. Bédier in Bc Mahābhārata origines et études, etc. (1911) sustains this view, but Lassen (Hit. Altert. for Paul. I. 171 ff.) contends that the description agrees better with the Brahmanas. See Schrader, p. 150, and Lassen, Ind. Altert. (2nd ed.) II. 786, p. 14 (ed.) II. 786.
those who are held in most honour are called the Hyloboi.[1] They live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in honour to the Hyloboi are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters. All others they consider to be in a great measure pernicious in their nature. [*] This class and the other class practice fortitude, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude. [*]

[1] See 425b. 8
[*] "The inside of the physician," Highamone remarks, "seem to correspond with those of Eratosthenes of the fourth century.
[+1] "It is indeed," says the same authority, "a remarkable
BESIDES these, there are diviners and soothsayers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in villages and towns.

Even such of them as are of superior culture and refinement, inculcate such superstitions regarding Hades as they consider favourable to piety and holiness of life. Women pursue philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

PLAUTUS. XLIII.


That the Jewish race is by far the oldest of all these, and that their philosophy, which has been committed to writing, preceded the philosophy of the Greeks, Philo the Pythagorean shows by many arguments, as does also Aristobulus the Peripatetic, and many others whose names I need not waste time in enumerating. Megasthenes, the author of a work on India, who lived with Seleucus Nicator, writes most clearly on this point, and his words are these:—"All that has been said regarding justice by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brahmans, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews."

Circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by the Greek authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander. The only explanation is that the appearance and number of its followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people.
Again, in addition to this, further on he writes thus:—

"Megasthenes, the writer who lived with Seleucus Nikator, writes most clearly on this point and to this effect:—'All that has been said,' &c.

*Frang. XLIII. C.*


Aristoboulos the Peripatetic somewhere writes to this effect:—"All that has been said," &c.

**Frang. XLIII.**


[Philosophy, then, with all its blessed advantages to man, flourished long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its disciples were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmanai who were the philosophers of the Balkrians and the Kelts, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judæa, and among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations.]

There are two sects of these Indian philosophers—one called the Sarmanai and the other the Brahminai. Connected with the Sarmanai are the philosophers called the Hylóbioi,† who

† "In this passage, though Cyril follows Clement, he wrongly attributes the teaching of Megasthenes to Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, whose Clement only quotes."—Schubelbeck, p. 59.

‡ The reading of the MSS is Abóbioi.
neither live in cities nor even in houses. They
clothe themselves with the bark of trees, and subsist
upon acorns, and drink water by lifting it to
their mouth with their hands. They neither marry
nor beget children [like those ascetics of our own
day called the Eunuchii. Among the Indians are
those philosophers also who follow the precepts of
Boutris, whom they honour as a god on ac-
count of his extraordinary sanctity.]
Megasthenes, however, says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, but that such as commit the act are regarded as foolishly, those naturally of a severe temper stabbing themselves or casting themselves down a precipice, those averse to pain drowning themselves, those capable of enduring pain strangling themselves, and those of ardent temperaments throwing themselves into the fire. Kalanos was a man of this stamp. He was ruled by his passions, and became a slave to the table of Alexander. He is on this account condemned by his countrymen, but Mandon, is applauded because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the son of Zeus, with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. Alexander, he said, was not the son of Zeus, but he was not so much as master of the larger half of the world. As for himself,

—"Kalanos followed the Macedonian army from Taxila, and when afterwards taken ill bade himself in the presence of the whole Macedonian army, without showing any symptom of pain. His real name, according to Plutarch, was Sphires, and he received the name Kalanos among the Greeks because in soliciting persons he used the form καλός instead of the Greek καυλώ. What Plutarch here calls καλός is probably the Sanskrit form कावुर्य, which is commonly used in addressing a person, and signifies 'good man, or distinguished.'"—Smith, Classical Dictionary.
he wanted none of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate; and as for his threats he feared them not: for if he lived, India would supply him with food enough, and if he died, he would be delivered from the body of flesh now afflicted with age, and would be translated to a better and purer life. Alexander expressed admiration of the man, and let him have his own way.

FRAGMENT XLIV.

Arr. VI. ii. 3-9.

(See the translation of Arr. in Bitha.)

BOOK IV.

FRAGMENT XLVI.

Strab. XV. i. 63-433.

That the Indians had never been attacked by others, nor had themselves attacked others.

(Cf. Epit. 23.)

6. But what just reliance can we place on the accounts of India from such expeditions as those of Kyros and Semiramis? Megasthenes concurs in this view, and recommends his readers to put no

* "The expedition of Semiramis as described by Dio-
   douros Sisalus (II. 16-19), who followed the Descenta
   of Nicanor, has almost the character of a legend abun-
   ding with particulars, and is entirely destitute of those geogra-
   phical details which stamp events with reality. If this expedi-
   tion is real, as on other grounds we may believe it to
   be, some traces will assuredly be found of it in the en-
   terprise inscriptions of Nineveh, which are obtained to throw
   so much unexpected light on the ancient history of Asia.
   It has already been believed possible to draw from these
   inscriptions, the foundations of a positive chronology which
   will fully confirm the indications given by Herodotus, a

   ————
faith in the ancient history of India. Its people, he says, never sent an expedition abroad, nor was their country ever invaded and conquered except by Hérodès and Dionysos in old times, and by the Macedonians in our own. Yet Scelisbris the Egyptian* and Tearkón the Ethiopian ad-

to the epoch of Samannis and Keris. It is certain that their conquests on the Indus were only temporary acquisitions, since at the epoch when Drasas Hystaspes mounted the throne the eastern frontier of the empire did not go beyond Arachosia (the Herodotus of the Zend texts; the Khorassán of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Avesta, the Prophet of Musliam geographers, the province of Astatûra and of Chezas of ancient geography)—that is to say, the parts of Afghanistan which lie east of the Hindu-kush range of mountains. This fact is established by the great bilingual inscription of Dara, which indicates the last eastern country to which Drasas had carried his arms at the epoch when the monument was erected. This was before he had achieved his well-known conquest of the Indus of the Indus.**—St. Martin, Études sur la Géographie Greque et Littéraire de l'Inde, pp. 14 seqq.

* Scelisbris (called Scelisbris by Herodotus) has generally been identified with Drasas the third king of the 19th dynasty of Mancho, the son of Sei, and the father of
vanced as far as Europe. And Nabukodonosor, who is more renowned among the Chaldeans than even Héraclès among the Greeks, carried his arms to the Pillars, which Tyre has also reached, while Sabastris penetrated from Iberia even into Thrace and Pontos. Besides these, there was Idanthyrus the Skythian, who overran Asia as far as Egypt. But not one of these great conquerors approached India, and Semiramis, who mediated its conquest, died before the necessary preparations were undertaken. The Persians indeed summoned the Hydrafæ from India to serve as mercenaries, but they did not lead an army into the country, and only approached its borders when Kyros marched against the Massagetae.

Of Dionysos and Héraclès.

7. The accounts about Héraclès and

Mesopotamia the Pharaoh of the Euphrates. Lycia, however, from a study of the Tablet of Ramesses II. found at Abydos in Egypt, and now in the British Museum, has been led to identify him with the Sesostris or Osorkon of the great 12th dynasty. See Report of the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Orientalists, p. 43.

† V. L. NaSooodpabosar.

† Called by Ptolemy Ias "Pillars of Alemur," above Alania and Iberia at the commencement of the Aetolian Eparmaia.

§ Herodotus mentions an invasion of Skythians which was led by Madyan. As Idanthyrus may have been a common appellation of the Skythian kings, Skaro may have been referring to that invasion.

|| The Hydrafæ are called also Osydrakai. The name, according to Lesouër, represents the Sanskrit Kshataraka. It is variously written Sydrakai, Syrakoda, Sadorco, and Syagamba.
Dionysos, Megasthenes, and some few authors with him consider entitled to credit, [but the majority, among whom is Eratosthenes, consider them incredible and fabulous, like the stories current among the Greeks.]

8. On such grounds they called a particular race of people Nyssaians, and their city Nyssae, which Dionysos had founded, and the mountain which rose above the city Meron, assigning as their reason for bestowing these names that ivy grows there, and also the vine, although its fruit does not come to perfection, as the clusters, on account of the heaviness of the rains, fall off the trees before ripening. They further called the Oxydraakai descendants of Dionysos, because the vine grew in their country, and their processions were conducted with great pomp, and their kings on going forth to war and on other occasions marched in Bacchic fashion, with drums beating, while they were dressed in gay-coloured robes, which is also a custom among other Indians. Again, when Alexander had captured at the first assault the rock called Aoros, the base of which is washed by the Indus near its source, his followers, magnifying the affair, affirmed that Herakles had thrice assaulted the same rock and had been thrice repulsed. [* They

* V. E. Nusensis, Ñusun.
* This celebrated rock has been identified by General Cunningham with the ruined fortress of Minet, situated immediately above the small village of Nusiris, which lies about sixteen miles north by west from
said also that the Sibae were descended from those who accompanied Hérakles on his expeditions, and that they preserved badges of their descent, for they wore skins like Hérakles, and carried clubs, and branded the mark of a cudgel on their oxen and mules.† In support of this story they turn to account the legends regarding Kaukasos and Promètheus by transferring them hither from Pontos, which they did on the slight pretext that they had seen a sacred cave among the Paropamisadae. This they declared was the prison of Promètheus, whether Hérakles had come to effect his deliverance, and that this was the Kaukasos, to which the Greeks represent Promètheus as having been bound.‡

Ohind, which he takes to be the Embolism of the ancients. "Rûjgât," he says, "or the Queen's rock, is a large upright block on the north side of the fort, on which Rûja Varâ's name is said to have been carved hourly. The fort itself is attributed to Rûja Varâ, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Rûja Varâ's stables. I think, therefore, that this hill-fort of Aornos most probably derived its name from Rûja Varâ, and that the ruined fortress of Rûjgât has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the Maheen hill of General Abbott, or the castellated Rûja said proposed by General Coutard and Mr. Loewenthal."* E. Greer's History of India, vol. VIII. pp. 437-8, footnote.

† According to Curtius, the Síhua, whom he calls Soli, occupied the country between the Hydaspes and the Alexander. They may have derived their name from the god Sin. 

‡ "No writer before Alexander's time mentions the Indian gods. The Hymnean, when they came into India, in accordance with the invariable practice of the Greeks, considered the gods of the country to be the same as their own. So, they were led to identify with Bacchus on their observing the unbridled license and somewhat Bacchic fashion of his worship, and because they traced
Frae. XLVII.
Arr. Ind. V. 4-12.
(See the translation of Arrian's Indica.)

Frae. XLVIII.
Of Nabuchodonosor.
(Cf. Frae. XLVI. 2.)

Megasthenes also expresses the same opinion in the 4th book of his Indika, where he endeavors to show that the aforesaid king of the Babylonians (Nabuchodonosor) surpassed Herakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, by telling us that he conquered even Ilaria.

Frae. XLVIII. B.

(In this place (Nabuchodonosor) erected also of stone elevated places for walking about on,

some slight resemblance between the attributes of the two divinities, and between the names belonging to the mythic conception of each. Nor was anything closer, after Euripides had originated the fiction that Dionysos had roamed over the East, then to suppose that the god of luxuriant fecundity had made his way to India, a country so remarkable for its fertility. To confirm this opinion they made use of a slight and accidental agreement in names. Thus many Minae seemed an indication of the god who sprang from the thigh of Zues (ex dios μηχόν). Then they thought the Kydnakes (Kynhakes) the offspring of Dionysos because this tree grew in their country, and they saw that their kings displayed great pomp in their processions. On equally slight grounds they identified Kydnakes, another god whom they saw worshipped, with Herakles; and whenever, as among the Sibae, they saw the skins of wild beasts, or clubs, or the like, they assumed that Herakles had at some time or other dwelt there."—Schwab. p. 45.
which had to the eye the appearance of mountains, and were so contrived that they were planted with all sorts of trees, because his wife, who had been bred up in the land of Media, wished her surroundings to be like those of her early home.] Megasthenes also, in the 4th book of his Indika, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king surpassed Hérakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, for he says that he conquered Libya and a great part of Iberia.

From XLVIII. C.
Among the many old historians who mention Nabouchodonosor, Josephos enumerates Hérakles, Megasthenes, and Diokles.

From XLVIII. D.
Megasthenes, in his fourth book of the Indika, represents Nabouchodonosor as mightier than Hérakles, because with great courage and enterprise he conquered the greater part of Libya and Iberia.

From XLIX.
Of Nabouchodonosor.
Megasthenes says that Nabouchodonosor, who was mightier than Hérakles, undertook an ex-
petition against Libya and Iberia, and that having conquered them he planted a colony of these people in the parts lying to the right of Pontos.

Fragm. L.

Arr. Ind. 7-9.

(See the translation of Arrian's Indika.)

Fragm. L. B.


Of Pearls.

Some writers allege that in swarms of oysters, as among bees, individuals distinguished for size and beauty act as leaders. These are of wonderful cunning in preventing themselves being caught, and are eagerly sought for by the divers. Should they be caught, the others are easily enclosed in the nets as they go wandering about. They are then put into earthen pots, where they are buried deep in salt. By this process the flesh is all eaten away, and the hard concretions, which are the pearls, drop down to the bottom.

Fragm. LI.

Paus. Mirab. 53.

Of the Pandalaii Land.

(Cf. Fragm. XXX. 6.)

Megasthenes says that the women of the Pandalai realm bear children when they are six years of age.
Of the Ancient History of the Indians.

For the Indians stand almost alone among the nations in never having migrated from their own country. From the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extend over 8451 years and 3 months.

Solin. 52. 5.

Father Bacchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6481 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153.

Of Kalanos and Mandaus.

This shows that Alexander, notwithstanding the terrible ascendancy which the passion for glory had acquired over him, was not altogether without a perception of the things that are better; for when he arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian

§ This fragment is an extract from Arrian's Edition of Alexander, and not the Indica as stated (by an oversight) at p. 107. The translation is accordingly now inserted.
...gymnasophists, a desire seized him to have one of these men brought into his presence, because he admired their endurance. The eldest of these sophists, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, Dandaus by name, not only refused to go himself, but prevented the others going. He is said to have returned this for answer, that he also was the son of Zeus as much as Alexander himself was, and that he wanted nothing that was Alexander’s (for he was well off in his present circumstances), whereas he saw those who were with him wandering over so much sea and land for no good got by it, and without any end coming to their many wanderings. He coveted, therefore, nothing Alexander had it in his power to give, nor, on the other hand, feared anguish he could do to coerce him: for if he lived, India would suffice for him, yielding him her fruits in due season, and if he died, he would be delivered from his ill-assorted companion the body. Alexander accordingly did not put forth his hand to violence, knowing the man to be of an independent spirit. He is said, however, to have won over Kalamos, one of the sophists of that place, whom Megasthenes represents as a man utterly wanting in self-control, while the sophists themselves spoke opprobriously of Kalamos, because that, having left the happiness enjoyed among them, he went to serve another master than God.
Doubtful Fragments.

Fragm. LIII.


Of Elephants.

(Conf. Fragm. xxxvi. 10, xxxvii. 20.)

The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,—not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice. The attendants even go in advance of their elephants and gather their flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his

|| Called acrot, (which, however, is also applied to milk), rum is now only the beverage given it.
manger, and makes by this device their fine scent, be, as it were, a relish to his food. He strews also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant.

The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Praisian, and next to these the Taxilan.

FRAGM. LIII.


Of a White Elephant.

(Cf. Fragm. xxxvi. 11, xxxvii. 11.)

An Indian elephant-trainer fell in with a white elephant-calf, which he brought when still quite young to his home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection requited him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the

* This fragment is ascribed to Megasthenes both on account of the matter of it, and because it was undoubtedly from Megasthenes that AElian borrowed the narrative preceding it (Fragm. xxxvii.) and that following it (Fragm. xxxvi.).—Schwanbeck.
desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrides him as soldiers in battle bestride a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his rearer he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stall, and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention. * [O men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sullying the sacred name of friendship.]

* Compare the account given in Plutarch's Life of Alexander, of the elephant of Euphor.
Of the Brahmanas and their Philosophy.

Of the Brahmanas in India.

There is among the Brahmanas in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life, and abstain from animal food and all viands cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground, and their drink is the water of the river Taga-bena.† Throughout life they go about naked, saying that the body has been given by the Deity as a covering for the soul.‡ They hold that God is light,§ but not such light as we see

† Probably the Sankrit Tumguru, now the Tungabhadra, a large affluent of the Krishna.
‡ Fide Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 128, note †. A doctrine of the Vedanta school of philosophy, according to which the soul is invested as in a sheath, or rather a succession of sheaths. The first or inner case is the intellectual case, composed of the soul and simple elements uncombined, and consisting of the intellect joined with the five senses. The second is the mortal sheath, in which mind is joined with the preceding, co. as some hold, with the ocean of action. The third comprises these organs and the vital faculties, and is called the organs' cratal case. These three sheaths (tika) constitute the subtle frame which attends the soul in its transmigrations. The external case is composed of the coarse elements, combined in certain proportions, and is called the gross body. See Colebrooke's Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Cowell's ed. pp. 355-6.
§ The affinity between God and light is the burden of the 'jyotish' or oldest verse of the Vedas.
with the eye, nor such as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,—by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brahmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity,[[ which is the outermost covering of the soul. The members of this sect regard death with contemptuous indifference, and, as we have seen already, they always pronounce the name of the Deity with a tone of peculiar reverence, and adore him with hymns. They neither have wives nor beget children. Persons who desire to lead a life like theirs cross over from the other side of the river, and remain with them for good, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brahmans, although they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country, from whom the native inhabitants are sprung, and of these women they beget offspring. With regard to the Word, which they call God, they hold that it is corporeal, and that it wears the body as its external covering, just as

[[ karman, which probably translates akāra, literally 'objective,' and hence 'self-consciousness,' the peculiar and appropriate function of which is self-knowledge; that is, a belief that in perception and meditation (i.e., concerning the objects of sense and even the mind-in short, that I am). The knowledge, however, which comes from non-predicating that being which has self-existence completely destroys the ignorance which says: 'I am.'
me mlears the woolleli .iurconl, rind thnt wlmi 11
divests itqelf or the body with which it is en-
wrapped it becomes manifest to the eye. There
is war, the Brachhmanas hold, in the body where-
with they are clothed, and they regard the
body as being the fruitful source of wars, and, as
we have already shown, fight against it like soldiers
in battle contending against the enemy. They
maintain, moreover, that all men are held in bond-
age, like prisoners of war, to their own innate
enemies, the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger,
joy, grief, longing desire, and such like, while it
is only the man who has triumphed over these
enemies who goes to God. D a n d a m i s accord
ingly, to whom Alexander the Makedonian paid a
visit, is spoken of by the Brachhmanas as a god be-
cause he conquered in the warfare against the
body, and on the other hand they condemn K a l a-
nos as one who had impiously apostatized from
their philosophy. The Brachhmanas, therefore,
when they have shuffled off the body, see the pure
sunlight as fish see it when they spring up out of
the water into the air.

† Compare Plato, Phaedo, cap. 32, where Sokrati
speaks of the soul as at present confined in the body as in a
species of prison. This was a doctrine of the Pythagorians,
whose philosophy, even in its most striking peculiarities,
beats such a close resemblance to the Indian as greatly to
favour the supposition that it was directly borrowed from
it. There was even a tradition that Pythagoras had visited
India.
**FRAGM. LV.**

Pallad. de Bergmanibus, pp. 8, 20 et seq. ad. Louthin. 1826.  
(Campan. bibl. gram. pp. 116, 124 et seq.)

*Of Kaisenos and Mandanis.*

(Cf. Fragm. xli. 19, xlix., xlv.)

They (the Dragmanes) subsist upon such fruits as they can find, and on wild herbs, which the earth spontaneously produces, and drink only water. They wander about in the woods, and sleep at night on pallets of the leaves of trees.

"**K a l a n o s,** then, your false friend, held this opinion, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. By you, however, accomplice as he was in causing many evils to you all, he is honoured and worshipped, while from our society he has been contemptuously cast out as unprofitable. And why not? when everything which we trample under foot is an object of admiration to the lucre-loving **K a l a n o s,** your worthless friend, but no friend of ours—a miserable creature, and more to be pitied than the unhappiest wretch, for by setting his heart on lucre he wrought the perdition of his soul! Hence he seemed neither worthy of us, nor worthy of the friendship of God, and hence he neither was content to revel away life in the woods beyond all reach of care, nor was he cheered with the hope of a blessed hereafter: for by his love of money he slew the very life of his miserable soul.

"We have, however, amongst us a sage called **D a n d a m i s,** whose home in the woods, where he
lies on a pallet of leaves, and where he has nigh
at hand the fountain of peace, whereof he drinks,
sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother."

King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard
of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines
of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandamis,
as being their teacher and president . . . . . .

Onesikrateus was therefore despatched to fetch
him, and when he found the great sage he said,
"Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Bragmanes.
The son of the mighty god Zeus, king Alexander,
who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you
to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward
you with great and splendid gifts, but if you
refuse will cut off your head."

Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him
to the end, but did not so much as lift up his hand
from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining
his recumbent attitude returned this scornful
answer: — "God, the supreme king, is never the
author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light,
of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and
of souls, and these he receives when death sets them
free, being in no way subject to evil desire. He
alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter
and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not
God, since he must taste of death, and how can
such as he be the world's master, who has not yet
reached the further shore of the river Tiberoboeus,
and has not yet seated himself on a throne of
universal dominion? Moreover, Alexander has
neither as yet entered living into Hades, nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his name.† If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no

† Λέγει δέ ὁ Αλεξάνδρεις παράλληλα. The Latin version has om. οὖν συνελήφθη, † has not crossed the name of Codex.
cases with which I am forced to burden myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether when here below we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life, since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Brahmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: 'Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.'"†

Alexander, on receiving from Onesikrates a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match, &c.

† "Others say Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messengers, but only asked 'why Alexander had taken so long a journey?'"—Plutarch's Alexander.
FRAGM. LV. B.


Of Calanus and Mandanis.

They (the Brachmanes) eat what they find on the ground, such as leaves of trees and wild herbs, like cattle.

"Calanus is your friend, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. He, then, who was the author of many evils among you, is honoured and worshipped by you; but since he is of no importance he is rejected by us, and these things we certainly do not seek, please Calanus because of his greediness for money. But he was not ours, a man such as has miserably injured and lost his soul, on which account he is plainly unworthy to be a friend either of God or of ours, nor has he deserved security among the woods in this world, nor can he hope for the glory which is promised in the future."

When the emperor Alexander came to the forests, he was not able to see Dandanis as he passed through.

When, therefore, the above-mentioned messenger came to Dandanis, he addressed him thus:—"The emperor Alexander, the son of the great Jupiter, who is lord of the human race, has ordered that you should hasten to him, for if you come, he will give you many gifts, but if you refuse he will behead you as a punishment for your contempt."

When these words came to the ears of Dandanis, he rose not from his leaves whereon he lay, but reclining and smiling he replied in this way:—"The greatest God," he said, "can do injury to no one, but
yet, cœstus Tiberio,

nor has made the whole world his abode, nor crossed the zone of Gades, nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world? Therefore many nations do not yet even know his name. If, however, the country he possesses cannot contain him, let him cross our river and he will find a soil which is able to support men. All those things Alexander promises would be useless to me if he gave them: I have leaves for a house, live on the herb at hand and water to drink; other things collected with labour, and which perish and yield nothing but sorrow to those seeking them or possessing them,—these I despise. Therefore now rest secure, and with closed eyes I care for nothing. If I wish to keep gold, I destroy my sleep; Earth supplies me with everything, as a mother does to her child. Wherever I wish to go, I proceed, and wherever I do not wish to be, no necessity of care can force me to go. And if he wish to cut off my head, he cannot take my soul: he will only take the fallen head, but the departing soul will leave the head like a portion of some garment, and will restore it to whence it received it, namely, to the earth. But when I shall have become a spirit I shall ascend to God, who has enclosed it within this flesh. When he did this he wished to try us, how, after leaving him, we would live in this world. And afterwards, when
we shall have returned to him, he will demand 
from us an account of this life. Standing by him 
I shall see my injury, and shall contemplate his 
judgment on those who injured me: for the sigh-
and groans of the injured become the punishments 
of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander threaten with this threat that 
desire riches or fear death, both of which I de-
spise. For Brachman neither love gold nor dread 
death. Go, therefore, and tell Alexander this:—
'Dandamis seeks nothing of yours, but if you think 
you need something of his, disdain not to go to 
him.'"

When Alexander heard these words through 
the interpreter, he wished the more to see such 
a man, since he, who had subdued many nations, 
was overcome by an old naked man, &c.

**FRAGM. LVI.**

**Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. 21. 8—22. 11.**

**List of the Indian Races.**

The other journeys made thence (from the 
Hypheas) for Seleukos Nikator are as follows:—
168 miles to the Heidræ, and to the river 
Jomaes as many (some copies add 5 miles); 
from thence to the Ganges 112 miles. 119 miles 
to Rhodopis (others give 325 miles for this dis-
tance). To the town Kalhupa 167—500. Others 
give 255 miles. Thence to the confluence of the 
Jomaes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 16

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§ This list Pliny has borrowed for the most part from 
miles), and to the town Palimbothra 125. To the mouth of the Ganges 788 miles.‖

† According to the MSS, 633 or 637 miles. The place mentioned in this famous itinerary all lay on the Royal Road, which ran from the Indus to Palimbothra. They have been thus identified. The Hesirna is now the Satlej, and the point of departure lay immediately below its junction with the Hyphasis (now the Beas). The direct route thence to the Hyphasis, and Ambala, conducted the traveller to the ferry of the Janaur, now the Jumna, in the neighborhood of the present Barah, whence the road led to the Gangetic point, which to judge from the distance given (112 miles), must have been near the site of the fort-strengthened Hastinapura. The next stage to be reached was Bhojupala, the position of which, both of its name and its distance from the Ganges (119 miles) combine to fix at Abhrai, a small town about 12 miles to the south of Amritsar. Kahimpura, the next stage, Manser, and others would identify with Kurnaj (the Kanakadigaj of Sanskrit); but M. de St.-Martin, objecting to this that Pusy was not likely to have designated an important and so celebrated a city by so obscure an appellation, finds a site for it in the neighborhood on the banks of the Hambalati, a river of Punbdis mentioned in the great Indian poems. This river, he remarks, must also have been called the Khushali, as the name of it still in current use, Kali and Kali, prove. Now, as ‘parsa’ transliterates the Sanskrit ‘phalast,’ should, Kahimpura, to judge from its name, must designate a town lying near the Kahimpur.

The figures which represent the distances have given rise to much dispute, some of them being inconsistent either with others, or with the real distances. The text, accordingly, has generally been supposed to be corrupt, so far at least as the figures are concerned. M. de St.-Martin, however, accepting the figures nearly as they stand, shows them to be fairly correct. The first difficulty presents itself in the words, “Others give 325 miles for this distance.” By this distance cannot be meant the distance between the Ganges and Bhojupala, but between the Hesirna and Bhojupala, which the addition of the figures shows to be 329 miles. The shorter estimate of others (325 miles) represents the length of a more direct route by way of Patiala, Thanesвар, Patpatt, and Dehli. The next difficulty has probably been occasioned by a corruption of the text. It lies in the words “Ali Colmipura epiodou GLXVII. D. Ali CGLXV. null.” The name of D has generally been taken to mean 800 peaces, or half a Roman mile, making the translation run thus:—“To Kahimpura.
The races which we may enumerate without being tedious, from the chain of Euphrates, of which 167 miles. Others give 265 miles.” But M. de St. Martin prefers to think that the D has, by some mangle of the text, been detached from the beginning of the second number, with which it formed the number DLXV, and been appended to the first, being led to this conclusion on finding that the number 565 sums up almost to a ninety the distance from the Euphrates to Kaliupara, as thus:—

From the Hedraces to the Jumanae 178 miles.  
From the Jumanae to the Ganges 112 “  
From the Ganges to Rhodopha 119 “  
From Rhodopha to Kaliupara 167 “  

Total...  666 miles.

Pliny’s carelessness in confounding total with partial distances has created the next difficulty, which lies in his stating that the distance from Kaliupara to the confluence of the Jumanae and the Ganges is 635 miles, while in reality it is only about 227. The figures may be correct, but it is much more probable that they represent the distance of some stage on the route, rather than the distance of the rivers than Kaliupara. This must have been the passage of the Jumanae, for the distance—

From the Jumanae to the Ganges is 112 miles.  
Then to Rhodopha 119 “  
Then to Kaliupara 167 “  
Then to the confluence of the rivers 227 “  

Total...  666 miles.

This is exactly equal to 5000 stadia, the length of the Indian Mesopotamia or Dolo, the Pachida of Sinakpa’s geography, and the Antarcéd of textographers.

The foregoing conclusions M. de St. Martin has summed up in the table annexed:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Roman miles</th>
<th>Stadia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the Hedraces to the Jumanae</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the Jumanae to the Ganges</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebes to Rhodopha</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the Hedraces to Rhodopha by a more direct route</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Rhodopha to Kaliupara</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total distance from the Hedraces to Kaliupara</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>4520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Kaliupara to the confluence of the Jumanae and Ganges</td>
<td>(227)</td>
<td>(1816)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total distance from the passage of the Jumanae to its confluence with the Ganges</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a spur is called Imans (meaning in the native language "snowy"). They are the Isari, Cosje, Izgi, and on the hills the Chishtoosagi, and

Pliny assigns 458 miles as the distance from the confluence of the rivers to Balkh, but as it is in reality only 298, the figures have probably been altered. He gives
lastly, 618 miles as the distance from Balkh to the mouth of the Jaxartes, which agrees closely with the estimate of Megasthenes who makes it 3,000 stadia. This, indeed, was his estimate, not 6,000 stadia as Strabo in one passage alleges it was. The distance by land from Ptolomeus to Tanais (Tarimata, the old part of the island), is 415 English, or 665 Roman miles. This distance by the river, which is known, is of course much greater. See "Géographie physique," pp. 271-278.

* By Imans is generally designated that part of the
Himalayan range which extends above Namal and Tshoanal,
and towards the ocean. Other forms of the name are Emanad, Emanud, Immanud. Lassen derives the name from the Sanskrit hunanud, in Pali kutthanaud, "snow." If this be so, Imans is the more correct form. Another derivation refers the word to "Himantari" (hun, "gold," and ant, "mountain"), the "golden mountains," so-called either because they were thought to contain gold mines, or because of the aspect they presented when their snowy peaks reflected the golden sunlight of sunset. Imans represents the Sanskrit hunanud, "snow." The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hind Kesh and the Himalayas, but was in course of time transferred to the Bolor range. This chain, which runs north and south, was regarded by the ancients as dividing Northern Asia into Elymas (extra), Namal (inside), and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan.

* These four tribes were found somewhere in Kafiristan or its immediate neighborhood. The Isari are unknown, but probably the same as the Brytals previously mentioned by Pliny. The Cosjes are already to be identified with the Khulun mentioned in the "Mukhobata," as neighbor of the Hunus and Karshim. Their name is borrowed, survivors in Khush, one of the three greatest divisions of the Khyber of Giyaret, which appear to have come originally from the Registan. The Izgii are mentioned in India, under the name of the Shagai, a people of Sirkh. This is, however, a mistake, as they inhabited the alpine region which extends along Kafiristan towards the
the Brāhmanas, a name comprising many tribes, among which are the Maccecalingas.†

The Brāhmanas or Bhārata are perhaps identical with the Chacome (whom Perty elsewhere mentions), in spite of the addition to their name of 'āgī,' which may have merely indicated them to be a branch of the Sākhas—that is, the Sākyas,—by whom India was conquered before the time of its conquest by the Aryan. They are mentioned in Māyā X. 44 together with the Pandavas, Ochana, Dvaraka, Kānala, Yavana, Parata, Madavas, Chāna, Kṛṣṇas, Ādavas, and Kānaddas. If Chacome be the correct reading of their name, there can be little doubt of their identity with the Kṛṣṇas.—See P. V. de St.-Martin's work already quoted, pp. 205-197. But for the Kāliṣtas, see loc. cit., vol. IV. p. 225.

† v. I. Brāhmaṇas. Pāṇini at once transports his readers from the mountains of Kauśā to the northern part of the valley of the Ganges. Here he places the Brāhmaṇas, whom he takes to be, not what they actually were, the leading caste of the population, but a powerful race composed of many tribes—the Maccecalingas being of the number. This tribe, as well as the Gadandiga-Kaliṣtas, and the Maccecalingas afterwards mentioned, are subdivisions of the Kaliṣtas, a widely diffused race, which spread at one time from the delta of the Ganges all along the eastern coast of the peninsula, though afterwards they did not extend southward beyond Orissa. In the Mahābhārata they are mentioned as occupying, along with the Vangas (from whom Bengal is named) and three other leading tribes, the region which lies between Magadha and the sea. The Maccecalingas, then, are the Māyās of the Kaliṣtas. "Māya," says M. de St.-Martin, "is the name of one of the non-Aryan tribes of greatest importance and widest diffusion in the lower Ganges region, where it is broken up into several special groups extending from Arakan and Western Assam, where it is found under the name of Magha (Māya Maghā), as far as to the Mayās of the central valley of Nepal, to the Mayās, Magadha, or Mahāyās of Southern Bihar (the ancient Magadhā), to the ancient Mayās of Bengal, and to the Magar of Orissa. These last, by their position, may properly be taken to represent our Maccecalingas." "The Mayās," continues the same author, "are equally their representatives in the ancient Yavas, a colony which the Book of Manu mentions in his enumeration of the impure tribes of Āryana, and which he names by the side of the Vangas, another people of the lower Ganges. The Māyeśā or Mayā of Orissa, which belongs to the earlier part of
The river Prinass and the Cainas (which flows into the Gange) are both navigable. The tribes called Galinge are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandei, and the Malli in whose

the 8th century of our era, also names the Meda as a low tribe of this region (AE, Res., vol. I, p. 126, Calcutta, 1788), and, what is remarkable, their name is found joined to that of the Auriga (Auriga). Prinass, in the text of Mal-
ena. Pleyt assigns for their inhabitation a large island of the Ganges; and the word Galinge (for Kalinga), to which their name is attached, necessarily places this island to-
wards the sea-board—perhaps in the Delta.

The Gangaridas or Gangarides occupied the region corresponding roughly with that now called Lower Bengal, and consisted of various indigenous tribes, which in the course of time became more or less Aryanized. As no word is found in Sanskrit to which their name corresponds, it has
been supposed of Greek invention (Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. II, p. 261), but erroneously, for it must have been current at the period of the Maedi-mani invasion: since Alexander, in reply to inquiries regarding the south country, was informed that the region of the Ganges was inhabited by two principal nations, the Prawi and the Gangarides. Mr.
de St.-Martin thinks that their name has been preserved almost identically in that of the Gangra of South Behar, whose traditions refer their origin to Twenti; and he would identify their royal city Portait (or Portashi) with Vard-
hasha (contraction of Varshamana), now Baripada. Others, however, place it as has been elsewhere stated, on the Mahanadi. In Polamen their capital is Gangi, which must have been situated near where Calcutta now stands. The
Gangaridas are mentioned by Virgil, Georg. III. 27:

In foribus pagis sua ex uno solitudo elephanto
Gangaridum fauna, victoriam arma Quirini.

"High or the gate is elephant and gold.
The crowd shall Caesar's Indian war behold."

(Dryden's translation.)

1 v. I. Panaa. The Prinass is probably the Tampé or Tensa, which in the Paravas is called the Parnès. The Cane, notwithstanding the objections of Schwanbeck, must be identified with the Cane, which is a tributary of the Jamna.

§ For the identification of these and other affluents of the Ganges see Notes on Assyria, e. ir., Ind. Alt. vol. V, p. 331.
country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

(22.) This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile; and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Skythian mountains, and has nineteen tributaries, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Conodechates, Erannobous, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth at once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and on the average a hundred stadia, in breadth, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers,

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1 For an account of the different theories regarding the source of the Ganges see Smith's Dict. of Chas. Geog.

2 Conodechates, Erannobous, = t. l. Goundesh (Va- 

1, Erannobous.

* regia.—v. 1. regio. The common reading, however—

"Gangarides Calingara, Rega." &c., makes the Gan-

garides a branch of the Kalinga. This is probably the cor-

rect reading, for, as General Cunningham states (iere. Geog.

of Ind., pp. 518-519), certain inscriptions speak of "Tri-Ka-

linga," or "the Three Kalinga." "The name of Tri-Ka-

linga," he adds, "is probably old, as Pliny mentions the

Kaleo-Calingi and the Gangarides. Shibasane separate

peoples from the Calinga, while the Mahishasata name

the Kalinga: three separate tribes, and each tribe in con-

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1000+ horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "precinct of war."

For among the more civilized Indian communities life is spent in a great variety of separate occupations. Some till the soil, some are soldiers, some traders; the noblest and richest take part in the direction of state affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. A fifth class devotes itself to the philosophy prevalent in the country, which almost assumes the form of a religion, and the members always put an end to their life by a voluntary death on a burning funeral pile. In addition to these classes there is one half-wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe—that of hunting and

junction with different peoples. (H. K. Wilson in Faison's Fords, let. ed. pp. 175, 176 note, and 188.) A Tri-Kalinga thus corresponds with the great province of Telingana; it seems probable that the name of Telingana may be only a slightly contracted form of Tri-Kalinga, or "the Three Kalings."

1 AA. null—v. LXX. null.
2 Lucian, in his account of the death of Porcius (Iam. 20), refers to this practice:—"But what is the motive which prompts this man (Porcius) to fling himself into the flames? God knows it is simply that he may show off how he can endure pain as do the Brahmans, to whom it pleased Porcius to liken him, just as if India had not her own crop of fools and religious persons. But let him by all means imitate the Brahmans, for, as Onesiphorus informs us, who was the pilot of Alexander's fleet and saw Kalamas burned, they do not immolate themselves by leaping into the flames, but when the pyre is made they stand close beside it perfectly motionless, and suffer themselves to be gently burned; then decently ascending the pile, they are burned to death, and never utter even ever so little, from their recumbent position."
taming elephants. They employ these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regard them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle. They employ them in war and in fighting for their country. In choosing them for war, regard is had to their age, strength, and size.

There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe called Modogalinga. Beyond are situated the Modubas, Moliudae, the Uberae with a handsome town of the same name, the Calmodroesi, Preti, Calisae, Sasari, Passalae, Columba, Orxolu, Abali, Talueta.⁷ The king of

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⁷ v. H. made Galingam, Madogaliana.

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⁵ These tribes were chiefly located in the regions between the left bank of the Ganges and the Hindoos. Of the Gohalbard, Preti, Calisae, Sasari, and Orxolu nothing is known, nor can their names be identified with any so found in Sanskrit inscriptions. The Malihas represent beyond doubt the Malihya, a people mentioned in the Athens Dithanum along with several non-Aryan tribes which occupied the country north of the Ganges at the time when the Indusans established their first settlements in that country. The Malihyas were mentioned as the Mahalas in the Persian lists, but no further trace of them is met with.

The Uberae must be referred to the Blaara, a numerous race spread over the eastern districts of the region spoken of and extending as far as to Assam. The name is pronounced differently in different districts, and variously written, as Baga or Bliara, Bliareis, Bliarika and Bliarahaus, Barray, Bliara, Bliareis, &c. The race, though formerly powerful, is now one of the lowest classes of the population. The Passalae are identified as the inhabitants of Passala, which, as already stated, was the old name of the Dohle. The Colotai correspond to the Khullor or Kolita—mentioned in the 4th book of the Ridapram, in the enumeration of the races of the west, also in the Kastika Samhitā in the list of the people of the north-west, and in the Indian dramas called the Modra Rādhāmaṇ, of which the hero is the well-known Chandravajpa. They were set-
these keep under near 30,000 foot soldiers, 1000 cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andamanese, a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 150,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Andamanese, and silver among the Bajrals.

[384] Red out for the Upper Jumna. About the middle of the 7th century they were attacked by the famous Chinese general, Hoon-Tsing, who ruled their race as King.

The Jumna valley is very broad, and the plain of the Jumna River is almost level. The Jumna river has a capacious bend, and then winds through the bays, forming the southern part of the great estuary. The Jumna is divided into two main branches, the western branch being the larger and the more important. The river is navigable for a distance of 25 miles. It is said that the trade carried on between Bengal and India is now much increased.

10. M. 71. 111. M.

* The Andamanese are a people identified with the Andamanese, a people of considerable size and power, who lived in the region between the Andaman Islands and the coast of the Pacific Ocean. The Andamanese River is the same as the Jumna River, and is the main source of water in the region. It is said to be navigable for a distance of 25 miles.

2. The river is said to be navigable for a distance of 25 miles. It is the main source of water in the region between Bengal and India.
But the Persians, although they were not yet, nor yet the Phœnicians, or the Carians, or the Phrygians; yet their state was very large and important, after which came all the people of the east and south: they are, however, even the whole that are along the Ganges. The king has in his pay a standing army of 500,000 foot-soldiers, 50,000 cavalry, and 5000 elephants; whence he formed some conjecture as to the weakness of his resources.

After them, but more inland, are the Mundaques and Sauri, to whose country is Mount Mâlâlies, on which shadow falls full towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately.] Bâzen ascertains that the north pole in those parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while Megasthenes says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dārâsā. The river Jomâna flows through the Pâlbothri into the Ganges between the towns Mêthôrâ and Cârisâborô. [The Mandara or Mandri are placed by Plutarch, on the left bank of the Indus, S.W. of Ganges; whereas Pliny places them S. of the Indus on the right bank. Sauri, where Plutarch places the Banda of Ashura, the Sāyam of Bâzen, which is in face of the Mandara, which is placed between Banda and Sind. See Ind. Ant. vol. VI. note on 3. 427.]
parts which lie southward from the Ganges; the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Paeini, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pygmies. Artemidorus sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.

(23.) The Indus, called by the inhabitants Sinds, rising on that spur of Mount Caucasus which is called Paropamisus, from sources

and on fixed its name at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna. Methon is easily identified with Methon, Carissura is most otherwise as Carissura, Orissura, Clissura. "This city," says General Coningham, "has not yet been explored, but I find, indeed, that its name by Veres Parme is Clisiura to the north of Methon. From some peninsula, or the name of the linden-tree, which is famed of Aethiopis, the Oileus of Polybius with the inhabitants. But the earlier name of this place was Kulsumasts, or Dulsumas, as Procopius. Now the Latin name of Chisura is also written Carissura and Carissura in different MSS. from which I infer that the ethiopian poultry was Kulsumasts, or, by a slight

change of two letters, Kulsumasts or Kulsumasts."


† A Greek geographer of Ephesus, whose date is about 100 a.C. His valuable work on geography, called a Port-

pius, was much quoted by the ancient writers, but with the exception of some fragments is now lost.
fronting the sunrise, receives also itself nineteen rivers, of which the most famous are the Hydaspes, which has four tributaries; the Cantabara, which has three; the Acesines and the Hyphasis, which are both navigable; but nevertheless, having no very great supply of water, it is nowhere broader than fifty stadia, or deeper than fifteen paces. It forms an extremely large island, which is called Prasiane, and a smaller one, called Patale. Its stream, which is navigable, by the lowest estimates, for 1240 miles, turns westward as if following more or less closely the course of the sun, and then falls into the ocean. The measure of the coast line from the mouth of the Ganges to this river I shall set down as it is generally given, though none of the computations agree with each other. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calingon and the town of Dandagula* 625 miles;"
in T recapitulated in the type of Peri
of the Zend Avesta. There is the present opinion of
Ptol. 750 miles; to the town in the
island of Patana mentioned above, 629 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the
Ganges are the Ksid; the Cetriboni,
who live in the woods; then the Megali,
whose king is master of five hundred elephants
and an army of horse and foot of unknown
strength; the Cyri, the Parasangs,
and the Asnaghi, where tigers abound, noted
for their ferocity. The force under arms con-
stitutes of 20,000 foot, 309 elephants, and 800
horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are
surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts

mouth of the Ganges river. The town of Devapura
or Devapura, which is in the district of the Badakh
emporium, which is the capital of Kalinga, is about 30
miles to the northwest of Ganges. From the
north-south direction of the Ganges and H. I. I think it is
impossible that the Greek name may have been Devon-
pura, which is about the same as Pataliputra. But in this
case the Red or "parish" of Battached to the name of Kalinga
may have been enclosed in Kalinga as early as the time of Pto-
which is confirmed by the statement of the Buddhist
chronicles that the "left over " of Kalinga was
enclosed by the emperor of the Benakidas, who
were forced by the king of the Benakidas, who

8. Toquna answer to Timpur in Timpanion,
oppoite Kooshan—6th. Ind. Jot. 400. The distance given is
also stated from the mouth of the Ganges, and from Cape
Timpanon.

8. This cape is a projecting point of the island of Peri-
which is now called the island of Salsette, near
Kolaba.

v. t. Asmack, The Asmack, as placed doubtfully by
Lassen about Jalpur.—Res. Ind. Jot.
over a space of 625 miles.\footnote{p. 197.} Below the deserts are the Bara, the Suraj, then Jouris, again for 187 miles;\footnote{p. 197.} these deserts encircling the fertile tracts just as the sea encircles islands.\footnote{p. 197.} Below these deserts we find the Maltecora, Singsan, Maraha, Baranje, and Morning.\footnote{p. 197.} These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken

\footnote{p. 197.} * DCCXI.—s. i. DCCXV. - Pleg, having given a general account of the habits of the Indo- and the Ganges, proceed to enumerate here the tribes which populated the north of India. The names are obscure, but Learn has identified one or two of them, and at Saint-Martin a considerable number more. The tribes distributed at the latter time inhabited the country extending from the Himalayas to the western coast about the mouth of the Narasah. The Giri probably answer to the Khosar or Khwar, a great tribe which from time immemorial has, with several other East Indian tribes, the lower Indus and the Jumna. The manner of their habitations would seem to be a triangle of Kotari (or Khateri), one of the simpler tribes of the Bet of Mann (\textit{C. R.} x, 13). The Newari must be identified with the Koekas of Jhoria books, a great tribe described as settled to the west of the Jumna. The grandson of the Khosar lived (\textit{Tickel-Rec.}, pp. 177, 180, note 13, and 561, \textit{et seq.}). The locality occupied by them and the two tribes mentioned after them must have been in the north of the Indus, between the lower Indus and the coast of the Arabian peninsula.

\footnote{p. 197.} * CLXXXVI.—s. i. CLXXXVII. - The Drave inhabit still the banks of the lower Chenab and the peninsula which is the valley of the Indus. Herein, Tsona mentions, however, a band of Drave at the upper end of the river, in a position which makes their united tribes, which Khowar inhabit them. The Siwak, Sankh, Sereen, have their name preserved in "Sera," which designation is on to the lower Indus—the modern place of the Drave tributaries of the river. Though placed with doubt by Lebour on the Indus about Sambal, but Yule places the Bhogasat-Kush, Ghundungasat—\textit{ibid.}, \textit{et seq.}, \textit{et al.}
chain run parallel to the shores of the ocean. They are free and have no kings, and occupy the mountain heights, whereon they have built many cities.§ Next follow the Nareans, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitallia.

§ These tribes must have been seated in Kuchh, a mountainous region, located between the gulf of that name and the Red Sea, where, and where only, in the region of India, a range of mountains is to be found running along the coast. The name of this Malabar has attracted particular attention because of its resemblance to the name of the Martindore (i.e. man-eater), a fabulous animal mentioned by Khusru (Gesius Indicus, VII.) as found in India and devouring upon human flesh. The Malabares were consequently supposed to have been a race of man-eaters. The identification is, however, rejected by X. de St. Martin. The Sicharis are represented at the present day by the Sheikhs of Guzarat (called the Sons by Macrabo), descendants of an ancient Rejput chief called the Sinhales. The Malabares are probably the successors of the list of the Parthia Satraps, which was later than Ptolemy's time by four and a half centuries. In the interval they were displaced, but the displacement of tribes was nothing unusual in those days. So the Karamar may perhaps be the successors of the Bactri or Karaman, now found in the banks of the Satlej and in the neighbourhood of Dihli.

§ Capitallia is, indeed, called the sacred Aukola, or Mount Aukol, which, attaining an elevation of 6400 fathoms, rises for above any other summit of the Arcchial range. The name of the Nareans recalls that of the Nair, which the Rejput characters apply to the northern belt of the desert (T. Cunningham, 1121); so St. Martin; but according to General Cunningham they must be the people of Saru, or the country of reeds, as now and then are synonymous terms for a people, and the country of Saru is still famous for its reed-arrows. The same name was used the statement that extensive gold and silver mines were worked on the other side of Mount Zaphon in support of his theory that the part of India was the Ophir of Scripture, from which the Tyrians carry in the days of Solomon carried away gold, a great plenty of aromatics (red sandalwood), and precious stones (1 Kings vi). His argument runs thus:—"The last name in Ptolemy's list is Varentares, which I would change to Varesanu by the transposition of two letters. This spelling is countenanced by the termination of the various read-
The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the Oratuar, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of in-

ning of Svaragratra, which is found in some editions. It is quite possible, however, that the Svaragratra may be intended for the Svaraspaus. The famous Varaka Mihira mentions the Svaradatra and Buda, together, amongst the people of the south-west of India (Dr. Kern's Brihat Sanhitā, XIV, 10). These Buda must therefore be the people of Badari, or Vadarai. I understood the name of Vadarai to denote a district abounding in the Badari, or Ber-tree (Jujube), which is very common in Southern Raj-

gurj. For the same reason I should look to this neighbour-

hood for the ancient Sauvitra, which I take to be the true form of the famous Sephar, or Ophir, as Sauvitra is only another name of the Vadarai or Ber-tree, as well as of its juicy fruit. Now, Soth is the Coptic name of India at the present day; but the name must have belonged originally to that part of the Indian coast which was frequented by the merchants of the East. There can be little doubt, I think, that this was in the Gulf of Khambay, which from time immemorial has been the chief port of Indian trade with the West. During the whole period of Greek history this trade was almost monopolized by the famous city of Brahma, or Achron, at the mouth of the Narmadā River. About the fourth century some portion of it was diverted to the new capital of Babylon, in the peninsula of Gujarat; in the Middle Ages it was shared with Khambay at the head of the gulf, and in modern times with Surat, at the mouth of the Tapti. If the name of Sauvitra was altered, as I suppose, from the prevalence of the Ber-tree, it is probable that it was only another appellation for the province of Badari, or Edar, at the head of the Gulf of Khambay. This, indeed, is the very position in which we should expect to find it, according to the ancient inscription of Kadra Bhāsa, which mentions Sinhara-Saurīra immediately after Svaradatra and Bhratadhukka, and just before Vakara Aparanata, and Nisala (Jour. As. Soc. VII, 130). According to this arrangement Sau-

vitra must have been to the north of Svaradatra and Bhrat-

dukka, and to the south of Nisala, or just where I have placed it, in the neighbourhood of Mount Abu. Much the same locality is assigned to Sauvitra in the Indica Peritia.
savour. Next again are the Varetae, subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the Odomberae; the Salabastre; the Horaee, who have a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city

<v.1. Oromos. The Oromos find their representatives in the Bhotars, who played a great part in the history of India before the Musulman conquest, and who, though settled in the Ganges province, regarded Ajmer as their ancestral seat.

† v. 1. Suratnatas. The Suratnatas cannot with certainty be identified.

‡ The Odumbas, with hardly a change in the form of their name, are mentioned in Sanskrit literature, for Pāṇini (IV. 1. 126, quoted by Lassen, Ind. All. 1st ed. I. p. 614) speaks of the territory of Uñumbata as that which was occupied by a tribe named in the old legend, the Salva, who perhaps correspond to the Salabastre of Ptolemy, the addition which he has made to their name being explained by the Sanskrit word varta, which means an obelisk or insurrection. The word wumbata means the glorious ridge. The district so named lay in Kachchh. The Salabastre are located by Lassen between the mouths of the Sarasvatī and Jellīmar, and the Horace at the bend of the gulf of Cambhā; Autonās he places at Kamblūṣ. See Ind. Ant. 1st ed. I. 760. Yule has the Somnibatēs, about Chandrawati, in northern Gujarat, but those are placed by Lassen on the bank of the Tonej.—Ed. Ind. Ant.

† Horace is an incorrect transcription of Somnibatēs, the vulgar form of the Sanskrit Somnibatō. The Horace were therefore the inhabitants of the region called in the Periplus, and in Ptolemy, Somnibatēs; this is, Gujarat. Orichōs (O'jījās) is used by Roman as the name of a city in the west of India, which has been conjectured to be Surat, but Yule thinks it rather some place on the Persian coast. The capital, Antioch, cannot be identified, but de St.-Martin conjectures it may have been the once famous Vahī, which was situated in the southern part of Gujarat, at about 24 miles' distance from the Gulf of Cambhā.
of theirs is much admired — Automelos, which, being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5000 cavalry. The poorer king of the Charmae has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the Pandae, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the Syriaci, Deranga, Posinga, Buzæ, Gogiræi, Umbra, Nereæ, Brancosi, Nohundae, Cocondae, Nesso, Pedatiræ, Solohrianæ, Olus-træ; who adjoin the island Patale, from the

5 v. 1. Autonoula. See preceding note.

The Charmae have been identified with the inhabitants of Charmansamallah, a district of the west mentioned in the Mahabharata and also in the Veha Prabhâ under the term Charmankulah. They are now represented by the Charnickis or Charnics of Bandibuland and the parts adjacent to the basin of the Ganges. The Pandae, who were their next neighbours, must have occupied a considerable portion of the basin of the river Charnal, called in Sanskrit geography the Charnamati. They were a branch of the famous race of Pundas, which made for itself kingdoms in several different parts of India.

6 This name in this list lead us to the desert lying between the Indus and the Aravall range. Most of the tribes enumerated are mentioned in the lists of the time given in the Bajgat chronicles, and have been identified by M. de St. Martin as follows:—The Suryabais are the Suryanis, who under that name have at all times occupied the country near the Indus in the neighbourhood of Bakhar.
further shore of which to the Caspian, the distance is said to be 1925 miles. 6

Then next to those towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the Amatæ, Bolingæ, Galitatalute, Dimuri, Megari, Orulbanon, Mezen; after those the Uri and Sileni. 7 Immediately beyond come

Oryan is the Latin transcription of the name of the great range of the Hinduks, a branch of the Rigpasa which at the present day passes Kakh. The Karas represent the Babakhs, an ancient branch of the same Hinduks (Ptol., Arabe and India, of the Ery, vol. 1, p. 261). The Gauties represent the Ganderis, or the Kukus, who are not settled on the banks of the Ganges or Lower Satap. The Daudie are represented by the Warak, and the Nosri perhaps by the Nanwars, who, though belonging to Baluchistan, had their ancient seats in the region to the east of the Indus. The Nebirons, who figure in the old
local traditions of India, perhaps correspond to the Nabands, while the Cawards certainly are the Kotonadas mentioned in the Mahabharata under the people of the north-west. (See Lassen, Rechtsgeschichte des Alten Indien, 1, 11, 1859, p. 15.) Euxinus mentions a tribe called Adana, as belonging to Curraspur.

6 There were two Sylaxes, which went by the name of the Kshaiti Gates. One was in Amazon, and was formed by a narrow pass leading from North-Western Asia into the northeast provinces of Persia. According to Arria (400 A.D. 20, 21) the Kshaiti Gates by a few days' journey distant from the Matlin form of Rigpasa, now represented by the ruins called Baha, formed a mile or two to the south of Tiberias. This pass was one of the most important places in ancient geography, and from it many of the invaders were received. Strabo, who frequently mentions it, states that its distance from the extreme north-flowing of India (Cape Comorin, &c.) was 14,000 stadia.

7 ch. 1. Amsterdam.

In the grammatical appellatives of Ptolæus, Basileus is mentioned as a territory occupied by a branch of the great tribe of the Sylaxes (Lassen, Fed. Meth. 1, p. 103, note, 391 ed. p. 756 n.), and from this indication M. de St. Martin has been led to place the Bolingae at the western
deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organage. Aboros, Sibarae, SHERTE, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophages, Sorge, Baraomatae, and the Umbritae, who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseini, who possess three cities. Their capital is Bucephala, built where Alexander’s famous horse

decentry of the Aravali mountains, where Plutarch also places his Balides. The Madrahuningsha of the Panjib (see Ptolemaus, Prov. p. 185) were probably a branch of this tribe. The Gallilitae are identified by the same author with the Gallataba or Gobheta; the Dimnari with the Dinaras, who, though belonging to the Ganges valley, originally came from that of the Indus; the Mekrus with the Moharas of the Rupput chronicles, whose name is perhaps preserved in that of the Mohias of the lower part of Sindh, and also in that of the Archdris of Eastern Baluchistan; the Mew with the Mazaris, a considerable tribe between Sukkarpur and Minahot on the western bank of the Indus; and the Uri with the Haurus of the same locality—the Humairas who figure in the Rupput lists of thirty-six royal tribes. The Scutac of the same tribes perhaps represent the Sileni, whom Pliny mentions along with the Uri.

§ vi. B. Paragonmatae, Umbritae—Baromatas Gumbri-Phagae.

|| The tribes here enumerated must have occupied a tract of country lying above the confluence of the Indus with the stream of the combined rivers of the Panjib. They are obscure, and their names cannot with any certainty be identified if we except that of the Siborn, who are undoubtedly the Saxonia of the Mahabharata, and who, as their name is almost invariably combined with that of the Indus, must have dwelt not far from its banks. The Afghan tribe of the Afrids may perhaps represent the Aboros, and the Sarabahia or Sarrahis, of the same stock, the Saxophagi. The Umbritae and the Aseini take us to the east of the river. The former are perhaps identical with the Ambassae of the historians of Alexander, and the Ambassae of Sanskrit writings, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the lower Alexius.
of that name was buried. Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the Sолед, and the Сондрав; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the Самарбле, Самбуреи, Бисамбрите, Оси, Аутиени, and the Taxill—famous city. Then

Alexander, after the great battle on the banks of the Hydaspas in which he defeated Porus, founded two cities—Belophihs or Belophanian, so named in honour of his celebrated charger, and Nikalan, so named in honour of his victory. Nikalan, it is known for certain, was built on the field of battle, and its position was therefore on the left side of the Hydaspas—probably about where Mong now stands. The site of Belophihs it is not so easy to determine. According to Plutarch and Pliny it was near the Hydaspas, in the place where Belophelian was buried, and if that be so it must have been on the same side of the river as the sister city; whereas Strabo and all the other ancient authorities place it on the opposite side. Strabo again places it at the point where Alexander crossed the river, whereas Arrian states that it was built on the site of his camp. General Cunningham fixes this at Jabalpur rather than at Jilawan, 50 miles higher up the river, the site which is favoured by Burnes and General Court and General Abbott. Jabalpur is about ten miles distant from Dilawan, where, according to Cunningham, the crossing of the river was most probably effected.

* v. l. Bisambrites.

† The Solcadie and the Sendire cannot be identified, and of the tribes which were settled to the east of the Indus only the Taxill are known. Their capital was the famous Taxila, which was visited by Alexander the Great. "The position of this city," says Cunningham, "has hitherto remained unknown, partly owing to the enormous distance recorded by Pliny, and partly to the want of information regarding the vast ruins which still exist in the vicinity of Shikahil. All the copies of Pliny agree in stating that Taxila was only 60 Roman, or 55 English, miles from Pencatkot or Haidkhaner, which would fix its site somewhere on the Hure river to the west of Hasan Avadh, or just two days' march from the Indus. But the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims agree in placing it at three days' journey to the east of the Indus, or in the immediate neighbourhood of Killa-ka-Sarik. He therefore fixes its site near Shikahilaki.
a level tract of country known by the general name of Aramae, whereof the tribes are four in number—the Pesculite, Arsagalite, Gerete, Asi.

Many writers, however, do not give the river Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies—the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arie, Paropamisadae, which is a mile to the north-east of that Sarai, in the extensive ruins of a fortified city abounding with stelae, monasteries, and temples. From this place to Hasiliana the distance is 74 miles English, or 19 in cases of Ptolemy's estimate. Taxila represents the Sanskrit Takshaka, of which the full form is Takshasila, whereas the Greek form was taken. The word means either 'cut rock' or 'severed head.'—Jour. Geog. of Ind., pp. 304-121.

As the name Aramae is entirely unknown, M. de St. Martin proposes without hesitation the corretion Gandhara, on the ground that the territory assigned to the Aramae corresponds exactly to Gandhara, of which the territory occupied by the Pesculite (Pachchotta), as we know from other writers, formed a part. The Gerete are beyond doubt no others than the Gures of Aramae; and the Asi may perhaps be identical with the Aspasia, or, as Strabo gives the name, Hogasii or Fash. The Aragaiotae are only mentioned by Ptolemy. Two tribes settled in the same locality are perhaps indicated by the name—the Arac, mentioned by Ptolemy, answerer to the Sanskrit Uchra; and the Gahili or Ghilgit, the Gahilas of Sanskrit, formerly mentioned.

§ 9.1. Pesculite.

Gedrosia comprehended probably nearly the same district which is now known by the name of Mekran. Alexander marched through it on returning from his Indian expedition. Arachampa extended from the chain of mountains now called the Sulaiman as far southward as Gedrosia. Its capital, Arachampa, was situated somewhere in the direction of Kaukab, the name of which, it has been thought, preserves that of Gandhara. According to Colonel Rawlinson the name of Arachampa is derived from Harikhan (Sanskrit Sarvasati), and is preserved in the Arabic Katbaj. It is, as has already been noticed, the name of the inscription. Arac denoted the country lying between Mukhash and Herat; Arakha, of which it formed a
making the river Cophes its farthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arians.

Many writers further include in India even the city Nyssa and Mount Meru, sacred to Father Bacchus, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of Jupiter. They include also the Astacani, in whose country the vine part, and of which it is sometimes used as the equivalent, was a wider district, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia. In the Persian part of the Bactrian inscription Aria appears as Hariva, in the Babylonian part as Aravan. Regarding Paropamisus and the Cophes see Ind. Ant. vol. V, pp. 320 and 320.

7 Other readings of the name are Aspagani and Aspagon, M. de St.-Martin, whose work has so often been referred to, says:—"We have seen already that in an extract from old Hekataios preserved in Stephen of Byzantium the city of Kasparyros is called a Gandara city, and that in Herodotus the same place is attributed to the Pakthi, and we have added that in our opinion there is only an apparent contradiction, because the district of Pakthi and Gandara may very well be but one and the same country. It is not difficult, in fact, to reconcile in the designation mentioned by Herodotus the indigenous name of the Afghán people, Pakthu (in the plural Pakthán), the name which the greater part of the tribes among themselves, and the only one they apply to their national dialect. We have here, then, as Lassen has noticed, historical proof of the presence of the Afghans in their actual fatherland five centuries at least before the Christian era. Now, as the seat of the Afghan or Pakht nationality is chiefly in the basin of the Kopchis, to the west of the Indus, which forms its eastern boundary, it is further confirmed what we have already seen, that it is in the west of the great river we must seek for the site of the city of Kasparyros or Kasparynos, and consequently of the Gandara or Kasparyros. The employment of two different names to designate the very same country is easily explained by this. Lastly, from this, one of the names was the Indian designation of the land, whilst the other was the indigenous name applied to it by its inhabitants. There was yet another name, of Sanskrit origin, which is territorial appellation of Gandhara—that of Avaana. This word,
grows abundantly, and the laurel, and boxwood, and every kind of fruit-tree found in Greece. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of Taprobane requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being Patale, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the Indus, triangular in shape, and 220 miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyre, derived from a name, which is hardly the correct one, it was less an ethnic, in the rigorous acceptation of the word, than a general appellation applied by the Indians of the Panjila to the tribes of the region of the Kophia, renowned from antiquity for the excellence of its horses.

In the popular dialects the Sanskrit word took the usual form Assakata, which was subsequently modified in Assakata (Ἀσσακατα) or Assakata (Ἀσσακατα) in the Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander and subsequent writers. It is impossible not to recognize here the name of Assakata or Assakata, which is very evidently nothing else than a contracted form of Assakata. Neither the Gaudari of Dehitana nor the Panyak of Herodotus are known to them (Arria and other Greek and Latin writers of the history of Alexander, but as it is the same territory [as that of the Assakata], and as in actual usage the names Aghis par and Pabodh are still synonymous, their identity is not a matter of doubt.”—Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, pp. 750-5. The name of the Gandhāra, it may here be added, remains to the highest antiquity; it is mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, as old perhaps as the 15th century B.C.—Id. p. 264.

§ 18 ante, p. 62, 2. 4. 1. CXXXV.—Yale, vol. XXIV.

4. Barmak and Arakes respectively, according to Yale.
rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala,* from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is Bibaga, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish.† Next comes Torailina,‡ nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

Fragm. LVI. B.

Solin. 62. 6-17.

Catalogue of Indian Races.

The greatest rivers of India are the Ganges and Indus, and of these some assert that the Ganges rises from uncertain sources and inundates the country in the manner of the Nile, while others incline to think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. (The Hypanis is also there, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars erected on its banks prove.)§

* In the bay of Karachi, identical with the Kolaka of Ptolemy. The district in which Karachi is situated is called Karachi to this day.
† This is called Bihorea by Arrian, Indika, cap. xxi.
‡ v. 1. Corallina.
§ See Arrian's Anab. v. 20, where we read that Alexander having arranged his troops in separate divisions ordered them to build on the banks of the Hypanis twelve altars to be of equal height with two lofty towers, while exceeding them in breadth. From Curtius we learn that they were formed of square blocks of stone. There has been much controversy regarding their site, but it must have been near the capital of Sophitins, whose name Lassen has identified with the Sanskrit Dronaqui, 'lord of
The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and its greatest twenty. Its depth where it is shallowest is fully a hundred feet. The people who live in the furthest-off part are the Ganga-rides, whose king possesses 1000 horses, 700 elephants, and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war.

Of the Indians some cultivate the soil, very many follow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funeral pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a stern sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants, which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 60,000 foot and 4000 horse. In fact no one invested with kingly power ever keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits a city called Pali-bôtri, whence some call the nation itself the Pali-bôtri. Their horses are a race of princes whose territory, according to the 12th book of the R̄māyanasa, lay on the right or north bank of the Vipâsa (Hyphasis or Bihā), in the mountainous part of the Dālî, comprised between that river and the Upper Irrâdī. Their capital is called in the poem of Vālān̄ki R̄jāgriha, which still exists under the name of R̄jāgriha. At some distance from this there is a chain of heights called Sākandar-giri, or 'Alexander's mountain.'—See St.-Martin's Etude, &c. pp. 102-111.
king keeps in his pay at all times: 60,000 from 30,000 horse, and 8000 elephants.

Beyond Pallibotra is Mount Malean, on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Beton informs us, who allows that this happens in many parts of India. Those living near the river Indus in the regions that turn southward are scorched more than others by the heat, and at last the complexion of the people is visibly affected by the great power of the sun. The mountains are inhabited by the Pygmies.

But those who live near the sea have no king.

The Pandean nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nyssa is assigned to this region, as is also the mountain sacred to Jupiter, Meros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well-known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chryse and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.

|| Possibly, as suggested by Yolo, Mount Pachrantha, near the Bannuk, and not far from the Tropic,vide Ind. Ant. vol. VI. p. 127, note 3, and conf. vol. I. p. 694. The Malli (see above), in whose country it was, are not to be confounded with another tribe of the same name in the Pandya, mentioned by Arrian; vide vol. V. pp. 87, 96, 333.—Ed. Ind. Ant.
Dionysos, in his expedition against the Indians, in order that the cities might receive him willingly, disguised the arms with which he had equipped his troops, and made them wear soft helmets and fawn-skins. The spears were wrapped round with ivy, and the thyrsus had a sharp point. He gave the signal for battle by cymbals and drums instead of the trumpet, and by regaling the enemy with wine diverted their thoughts from war to dancing. These and all other Bacchanalian orgies were employed in the system of warfare by which he subjugated the Indians and all the rest of Asia.

Dionysos, in the course of his Indian campaign, seeing that his army could not endure the fiery heat of the air, took forcible possession of the three-peaked mountain of India. Of these peaks one is called Korašibi, another Kon das, but to the third he himself gave the name of Mēros, in remembrance of his birth. There were many fountains of water sweet to drink, game in great plenty, tree-fruit in unsparing profusion, and snows which gave new vigour to the frame. The troops quartered there made a sudden descent upon the barbarians of the plain, whom they easily routed, since they attacked them with missiles from a commanding position on the heights above.
Dionysos, after conquering the Indians, invaded Bactria, taking with him as auxiliaries the Indians and Amazons. That country has for its boundary the river Sarangës. The Bactrians seized the mountains overhanging that river with a view to attack Dionysos, in crossing it, from a post of advantage. He, however, having encamped along the river, ordered the Amazons and the Bakkhai to cross it, in order that the Bactrians, in their contempt for women, might be induced to come down from the heights. The women then assayed to cross the stream, and the enemy came downhill, and advancing to the river endeavoured to beat them back. The women then retreated, and the Bactrians pursued them as far as the bank; then Dionysos, coming to the rescue with his men, slew the Bactrians, who were impeded from fighting by the current, and he crossed the river in safety.

Fragm. LVIII.


Of Hercules and Pandæa.

(Cf. Fragm. L. 15.)

Heraklēs begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandæa. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the

\*\* See Ind. Ant., Notes to Arcadian in vol. V. p. 332.
treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.

**Fragm. LIX.**

*Of the Beasts of India.*

*Elian, Hist. Anim. XVI. 2-22.*

(2) In India I learn that there are to be found the birds *called* parrots; and though I have no doubt, already mentioned them, yet what I omitted to state previously regarding them may now with great propriety be here set down. There are, I am informed, three species of them, and all these, if taught to speak, as children are taught, become as talkative as children, and speak with a human voice; but in the woods they utter a bird-like scream, and neither send out any distinct and musical notes, nor being wild and untutored are able to talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest anywhere met with,
and pale-green ringloves. One who is not well-versed in bird-lore, seeing these for the first time, would take them to be parrots, and not pigeons. In the colour of the bill and legs they resemble Greek partridges. There are also cocks, which are of extraordinary size, and have their crests not red as elsewhere, or at least in our country, but have the flower-like coronals of which the crest is forned variously coloured. Their rump feathers, again, are neither curved nor wreathed, but are of great breadth, and they trail them in the way penceocks trail their tails, when they neither straighten nor erect them: the feathers of these Indian cocks are in colour golden, and also dark-blue like the smaragdus.

(3) There is found in India also another remarkable bird. This is of the size of a starling and is parti-coloured, and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot, and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom, and such a longing to warble at will in the society of its mates, that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Macedonians who settled among the Indians in the city of Boukepha and its neighbourhood, and in the city called Kuropolis, and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the Kerkhion. This name had, I believe, its ori-
I am in the fact that the bud cranes tail in the same way as the water-ouzel (ős űtán).

(4) I learn further that in India there is a bird called the Rúkás, which is thrice the size of the bustard, and has a bill of prodigious size and long legs. It is furnished also with an immense crop resembling a leather pouch. The cry which it utters is peculiarly discordant. The plumage is ash-coloured, except that the feathers at their tips are tinted with a pale yellow.

(5) I hear also that the Indian hoopoe (kána) is double the size of ours, and more beautiful in appearance, and Homer says that while the bridle and trappings of a horse are the delight of a Hellenic king, this hoopoe is the favourite plaything of the king of the Indians, who carries it on his hand, and toys with it, and never tires gazing in ecstasy on its splendour, and the beauty with which Nature has adorned it. The Brachmans, therefore, even make this particular bird the subject of a mythic story, and the tale told of it runs thus:---

To the king of the Indians there was born a son. The child had elder brothers, who when they came to man's estate turned out to be very unjust and the greatest of reprobates. They despised their brother because he was the youngest; and they scoffed also at their father and their mother, whom they despised because they were very old and grey-haired. The boy, accordingly, and his aged parents could at last no longer live with these wicked men, and away they fled from home, ab
Three together. In the course of the protracted journey which they had then to undergo, the old people succumbed to fatigue and died, and the boy showed them no light regard, but buried them in himself, having cut off his head with a sword. Then, as the Brahminas tell us, the all-seeing sun, in admiration of this surpassing act of piety, transformed the boy into a bird which is most beautiful to behold, and which lives to a very advanced age. So on his head there grew up a crest which was, as it were, a memorial of what he had done at the time of his flight. The Athenians have also related, in a fable, marvols somewhat similar of the crested lark; and this fable Aristophanes, the comic poet, appears to me to have followed, when he says in the Birds, "For thou wast ignorant, and not always bustling, nor always thumping Aesop, who spake of the crested lark, calling it the first of all birds, born before ever the earth was; and telling how afterwards her father became sick and died, and how that, as the earth did not then exist, he lay unburied till the fifth day, when his daughter, unable to find a grave elsewhere, dug one for him in her own head."||

§ 170-75:—

"You're such a dull inquisitive lot, unread in Aesop's lore, When Aesop says the lark was born first of the feathered tribe, Before the earth was even a speck, he and his five days lay the old bird unzoomed at last, And buried the father in his head, since other grave was none."

Dr. Kennedy's translation.
It seems, accordingly, probable that the tale, though with a different bird for its subject, emanated from the Indians, and spread onward even to the Greeks. For the Brachmanee say that a prodigious time has elapsed since the Indian hoopoe, then in human form and young in years, performed that act of piety to its parents.

(6.) In India there is an animal closely resembling in appearance the land crocodile, and somewhere about the size of a little Maltese dog. It is covered all over with a scaly skin so rough altogether and compact that when flayed off it is used by the Indians as a file. It cuts through brass and eats iron. They call it the *phottages* (pangolin or scaly ant-eater).

(8.) The Indian sea-breeds sea-serpents which have broad tails, and the lakes breed hydras of immense size, but these sea-serpents appear to inflict a bite more sharp than poisonous.

(9.) In India there are herds of wild horses, and also of wild asses. They say that the mares submit to be covered by the asses, and enjoy such ediction, and breed mules, which are of a reddish colour and very fleet, but impatient of the yoke and otherwise skittish. They say that they catch these mules with foot-ropes, and then take them to the king of the Persians, and that if they are caught when two years old they do not refuse to be broken in, but if caught when beyond that age they differ in no respect from sharp-toothed and carnivorous animals.
(11.) There is found in India a grandivorous animal which is double the size of a horse, and which has a very bushy tail purely black in colour. The hair of this tail is finer than human hair, and its possession is a point on which Indian women set great store, for therewith they make a charming coiffure, by binding and braiding it with the locks of their own natural hair. The length of a hair is two cubits, and from a single root there sprout out, in the form of a fringe, somewhere about thirty hairs. The animal itself is the most timid that is known, for should it perceive that any one is looking at it, it starts off at its utmost speed, and runs right forward—but its eagerness to escape is greater than the rapidity of its pace. It is hunted with horses and hounds good to run. When it sees that it is on the point of being caught, it hides its tail in some near thicket, while it stands at bay facing its pursuers, whom it watches narrowly. It even plucks up courage in a way, and thinks that since its tail is hid from view the hunters will not care to capture it, for it knows that its tail is the great object of attraction. But it finds this to be, of course, a vain delusion, for some one hits it with a poisoned dart, who then slays off the entire skin (for this is of value) and throws away the carcass, as the Indians make no use of any part of its flesh.

(12.) But further, whale are to be found
in the Indian Sea, and these five times longer than the largest elephant. A rib of this monstrous fish measures as much as twenty cubits, and its lip fifteen cubits. The fish near the gills are each of them so much as seven cubits in breadth. The shell-fish called Kirukes are also met with, and the purple-fish of a size that would admit it easily into a gallon measure, while on the other hand the shell of the sea-urchin is large enough to cover completely a measure of that size. But fish in India attain enormous dimensions, especially the sea-wolves, the thunies, and the golden-eyebrows. I hear also that at the season when the rivers are swollen, and with their full and boisterous flood deluge all the land, the fish are carried into the fields, where they swim and wander to and fro, even in shallow water, and that when the rains which flood the rivers cease, and the waters retiring from the land resume their natural channels, then in the low-lying tracts and in flat and marshy grounds, where we may be sure the so-called Nine are wont to have some watery recesses (οἶκοι νηρῶν), fish even of eight cubits' length are found, which the husbandmen themselves catch as they swim about languidly on the surface of the water, which is no longer of a depth they can freely move in, but in fact so very shallow that it is with the utmost difficulty they can live in it at all.

(13.) The following fish are also indigenous:
to India:—prickly roaches, which are never in any respect smaller than the asps of Argolis; and shrimps, which in India are even larger than crabs. These, I must mention, failing their way from the sea up the Ganges, have claws which are very large, and which feel rough to the touch. I have ascertained that those shrimps which pass from the Persian Gulf into the river Indus have their prickles smooth, and the feelers with which they are furnished elongated and curling, but this species has no claws.

(14.) The tortoise is found in India, where it lives in the rivers. It is of immense size, and it has a shell not smaller than a full-sized skiff (σαράγος), and which is capable of holding ten medium (120 gallons) of pulse. There are, however, also land-tortoises which may be about as big as the largest clods turned up in a rich soil where the glebe is very yielding, and the plough sinks deep, and, clearing the furrows with ease, piles the clods up high. These are said to cast their shell. Husbandmen, and all the hands engaged in field labour, turn them up with their mattocks, and take them out just in the way one extracts wood-worms from the plants they have eaten into. They are fat things, and their flesh is sweet, having nothing of the sharp flavour of the sea-tortoise.

(15.) Intelligent animals are to be met with among ourselves, but they are few, and not at all so common as they are in India. For there we find
the elephant, which answers to this character, and
the parrot, and apes of the sphinx kind, and
the creatures called satyrs. Nor must we for-
get the Indian ant, which is so noted for its
wisdom. The ants of our own country do, no
doubt, dig for themselves subterranean holes and
burrows, and by boring provide themselves with
barking-places, and wear out all their strength in
what may be called mining operations, which are
indescribably toilsome and conducted with se-
crecy; but the Indian ants construct for them-
selves a cluster of tiny dwelling-houses, seated
not on sloping or level grounds where they could
easily be inundated, but on steep and lofty
eminences. And in these, by boring out with
untold skill certain circuitous passages which
remind one of the Egyptian burial-vaults or
Cretan labyrinths, they so contrive the structure
of their houses that none of the lines run
straight, and it is difficult for anything to enter
them or flow into them, the windings and per-
formations being so tortuous. On the outside
they leave only a single aperture to admit them-
selves and the grain which they collect and
carry to their store-chambers. Their object in
selecting lofty sites for their mansions is, of
course, to escape the high floods and inundations
of the rivers; and they derive this advantage
from their foresight, that they live as it were in
so many watch-towers or islands when the part-
around the heights become all a lake. Mor-
over, the mounds they live in, though placed in contiguity, so far from being smeared and torn under by the deluge, are rather strengthened, especially by the morning dew: for they put on, so to speak, a coat of ice formed from this dew—thin, no doubt, but still of strength; while at the same time they are made more compact at their base by weeds and bark of trees adhering, which the silt of the river has carried down. Let so much about Indian ants be said by me now, as it was said by Iobas long ago.

(16) In the country of the Indian A re i n a o i there is a subterranean chasm down in which there are mysterious vaults, concealed ways, and thoroughfres invisible to men. These are deep walled, and stretch to a very great distance. How they came to exist, and how they were excavated, the Indians do not say, nor do I concern myself to inquire. Either the Indians bring more than thirteenten thousand head of cattle of different kinds, sheep and goats, and oxen and horses; and every person who has been terrified by an ominous dream, or a warning sound or prophetic voice, or who has seen a bird of evil augury, as a substitute for his life casts into the chasm such a victim as his private means can afford, giving the animal as a reason to save his soul alive. The victims conducted thither are not led in chains nor otherwise coerced, but they go along this road willingly, as if urged forward by some mysterious spell; and as soon as they find themselves in the verge
of the chasm they voluntarily leap in, and disappear forever from human sight so soon as they fall into this mysterious and viewless cavern of the earth. But above there are heard the bellowings of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the neighing of horses, and the plaintive cries of goats, and if any one goes near enough to the edge and closely applies his ear he will hear afar off the sounds just mentioned. This confusing sound is one that never ceases, for every day that passes men bring new victims to be their substitutes. Whether the cries of the animals last brought only are heard, or the cries also of those brought before, I know not,—all I know is that the cries are heard.

(17) In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobane. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island, having a length of 7000 stadia and a breadth of 3000. It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

(18.) In the sea which surrounds the island, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses; for a shell, being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a

In the earlier printed edition of this book, the map is not correctly engraved. It shows breadth from east to west in 154 miles and is about four times too wide. It shows its extent about 500 miles.
good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abodes, like those whose tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobane, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the showiest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalinga. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident on a continent, though no doubt they learn from other
that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rains; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but, instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation, they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by sight graze on the pasture-fields, for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around
these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter, when the night begins gradually to wane, but before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first flush of morning faintly illumines its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts—one fierce and armed with sharp-pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fisherman, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered.

(19.) The sea-hare, by which I now mean the kind found in the great sea (for of the kind found in the other sea I have already spoken), resembles in every particular the land hare except only the fur, which in the case of the land animal is soft and lies smoothly down, and does not rest the back, whereas its brother of the sea has bristling hair which is prickly, and inflicts a wound on anyone who touches it. It is said to swim atop of the sea-ripple without ever diving below, and to be very rapid in its movements. To catch it alive is no easy matter, as it never falls into the net, nor goes near the line and
bait of the fishing-rod. When it suffers, however, from disease, and, being in consequence hardly able to swim, is cast out on shore, then if any one touches it with his hand death ensues if he is not attended to,—nay, should one, were it only with a staff, touch this dead hare, he is affected in the same way as those who have touched a basilisk. But a root, it is said, grows along the coast of the island, well known to every one, which is a remedy for the swooning which ensues. It is brought close to the nostrils of the person who has fainted, who thereupon recovers consciousness. But should the remedy not be applied the injury proves fatal to life, so noxious is the vigour which this hare has at its command.

Frag. XV. B. follows here."

(22.) There is also a race called the Skiratai,† whose country is beyond India. They are

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* This is the fragment in which Allain describing the one-horned animal which he calls the kartna. Roseus Miller, who has treated at large of the unicorn, which he identifies with the Indian rhinoceros, thinks that Allain probably borrowed his account of it from Keviaus, who when in Persia may have heard exaggerated accounts of it, or may have seen it represented in sculpture with variations from its actual appearance. Tylor derives its name from Khed, an old name, he says, of the rhinoceros itself, and tasa, i.e., cornu or tusk, tarsus. Three animals were spoken of by the ancients as having a single horn—the African ox, the Indian ass, and what is specially called the Unicorn. Palaest., p. 30.

† Palaest., Pagen. xxi. 5, p. 30, and p. 74, note ; where they are identified with the Kirinas. In the Mahabharata there is a passage quoted by Lassen (Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. II. 40) where are mentioned "the Kirinas, some of whom dwell in Mount Mandara, others cut their cows as a covering: they are horrible, black-faced, with but one foot
ambi-nosed, either because in the tender years of infancy their nostrils are pressed down, and continue to be so throughout their after-life, or because such is the natural shape of the organ. Serpents of enormous size are bred in their country, of which some kinds seize the cattle when at pasture and devour them, while other kinds only suck the blood, as do the Aigithelai in Greece, of which I have already spoken in the proper place.

but very fleet, who cannot be exterminated, are having their name, and cannibals. (Schwanbeck, p. 38.) [Hansen places one breed of them on the south bank of the Tigris in Nipk, and another in Tripol. — Enc. Ind. Ant.]
TRANSLATION

OF THE

FIRST PART OF THE INDICA

OF ARRIAN.

Chaps. i.—XVII. inclusive.

FROM TEUBNER'S EDITION,

Leipzig, 1897.
INTRODUCTION.

Appian, who variously distinguished himself as a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, and an historian, was born in Nikomedea, in Bithynia, towards the end of the first century. He became a pupil of the philosopher Epikritos, whose lectures he published. Having been appointed prefect of Kappadokia under the emperor Hadrian, he acquired during his administration a practical knowledge of the tactics of war in repelling an attack made upon his province by the Alani and Massagetae. His talents recommended him to the favour of the succeeding emperor, Antoninus Pius, by whom he was raised to the consulship (A.D. 146). In his later years he retired to his native town, where he applied his leisure to the composition of works on history, to which he was led by his admiration of Xenophon. He died at an advanced age, in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The work by which he is best known is his account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, which is remarkable alike for the accuracy of its narrative, and the Xenophontic ease and clearness, if not the perfect purity, of its style. His work on India (विना) or विना) may be regarded as a continuation of his Anabasis, though it is not written like the Anabasis in the Attic dialect, but in the Ionic. The reason may have been that he
wished his work to supersede the old and less accurate account of India written in Ionic by Ktésias of Knidos.

The *Indica* consists of three parts:—the first gives a general description of India, based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes (chaps. i.—xvii.); the second gives an account of the voyage made by Nearchos the Kretan from the *Indus* to the *Euphrates*, based entirely on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearchos himself (chaps. xviii.—xlii.); the third contains a collection of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (chap. xlii. to the end).
I. The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Kophen, by two Indian tribes, the Assakenoi and the Assakenoi, who are not men of great stature like the Indians on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Kyros the son of Kambyses the tribute from their land which Kyros had imposed. The Nysaioi, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos,—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars which Dionysos waged against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysos, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks. The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysai, after Mount Nysa, and the city itself Nysa.* But the mountain

* Nysa, the birthplace of the wine-god, was placed, according to fancy, anywhere up and down the world wherever the vine was found to flourish. Now, as the region watered by the Kophon was in no ordinary measure teeming with the joyous tree, there was consequently a Nysa somewhere upon its banks. Lassen doubted whether there
close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Mēros, from the accident which befell the god immediately after his birth. These stories about Dionysos are of course but fictions of the poets, and we leave them to the learned among the Greeks or barbarians to explain as they may. In the dominions of the Assakensi there is a great city called Massaika, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is another city, Pankelaitis, which is also of great size and not far from the Indus.

Massaika (other forms are Massa, Massa, and Massagis) - The Massagis Massa, a city situated near the Ganges. Curtius states that it was depopulated by a rapid river on its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander, it held out for four days against all his assaults.

Pankelaitis (other forms - Pankelaitis, Pankelaitis, Pankeleaitis) - The name of Pankelaitis was immediately derived from Panhelaitos which is the Persian or proper form of the Sanskrit Puskasthara. It is also called Pankeleaitis by Arrian, and the people are named Pankeleaites by Eusebius, Pankeleaites, which are both close derivatives of the Pusan Pusktarai. The form of Pusktarai, which is found in Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine, Sogdian, and Iliki, in Ptolemy's Geography, is perhaps only an attempt to give the Hindustani name of Pusktar, instead of the Sanskrit Pusktarai. So General Cunningham, who dates the Persian at the two large ranges.
settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a westward direction as far as the Kāphēn.

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indiāns. The northern boundaries of India so defined are formed by Mount Tauros, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. Tauros begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lykia, and Kilikia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisos, in another Emodos, and in another

Parang and Chésante, which form part of the well-known Hashinagar, or 'eight cities,' that are seated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Sack river. The position indicated is nearly seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshāvar. Pushkāla, according to Prof. Wilson, is still represented by the modern Pākawī or Pāshūn, in the neighbourhood of Peshāvar.

§ In limiting India to the eastern side of the Indus, Arrian expresses the view generally held in antiquity, which would appear to be also that of the Hindus themselves, since they are forbidden by one of their old traditions to cross that river. Much, however, may be said for the theory which would extend India to the foot of the great mountain ranges of Hindū Kush and Parapamisōs. There is, for instance, the fact that in the region lying between these mountains and the Indus many places either now bear, or have formerly borne, names which can with certainty be traced to Sanskrit sources. The subject is discussed at some length in Elphinstone's History of India, pp. 311-6, also by de St.-Martin—Kīndū, pp. 9-11.

Parapamisōs (now Tāgra—Parapamisōs, Parapamisēs, Parapamēs). This denotes the great mountain range now called Hindū Kush; supposed to
third I m a s, and it has perhaps other names beside. The Macedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it K a n k a s a s,—this being another Kaukasos and distinct from the Skythian, so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond Kaukasos.

be a corrupted form of "Indian Caucasus," the same given to the range by the Macedonians, either to flatter Alexander, or because they regarded it as a continuation of Kaukasos. Arrian, however, and others held it to be a continuation of Taurus. The mountains belonging to the range which lie to the north of the Kaukas river are called Nishandha (see Lassen, Ind. Antiq. I. p. 22, note), a Sanskrit word which appears perhaps in the form Paropamisos, which is that given by Ptolemy. According to Ptolemy, the Skythians called Mount Caucasos G r a v a k s a n s, a word which represents the Indian name of Paropamisus, G r a v a k s a n s, which Ptolemy translates "splendidus regium montem." According to General Cunningham, the Mount Perosh or Aparasin of the Zendavesta corresponds with the Paropamisos of the Greeks. Peros, the first part of the word, St. Martin says, represents undoubtedly the Peru or Paruta of the local dialects (in Zend, Parutu, meaning mountain). He acknowledges, however, that he cannot assign any reason why the syllable pa has been intercalated between the vowels peru and m a s to form the Paropamisus of the Greek. The first Greek writer who mentions the range is Aristoloch, who calls it Parimassos: see his Meteor. I. 18. Hindá Kush generally designates now the eastern part of the range, and Paropamisus the western. According to Sir Alexander Burnes, the name Hindá Kush is unknown to the Afghans, but there is a particular peak and also a pass between the mountains which joined Afghanistan and Turkistan.—Hinduks (other forms—Emida, Emid, Emidz, Emiday). The name generally designates that part of the Hinduks range which extended along Nepal and Bhutan and onward towards the ocean. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit hinduks, in Prakrit hinduks, 'mountain.' It is the same as the Hindoos, a name given to the Persians by their neighbors. Another derivation refers the word to "hindoon", th. i.e., gold and silver, 'the golden mountains,'—called either because they were thought to contain gold mines, or because the aspect they presented when their snow-capped peaks reflected the golden effulgence of sunset.
On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the I s t e r (Danube), but diverge like those of the N i l e, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. The Indus in like manner makes an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue P a tt a l a.

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about Pattala and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alex-

¶ P a t t a l a.—The name of the Delta was properly P a t t a l a n a, and P a t t a l a was its capital. This was situated at the head of the Delta, where the western stream of the Indus bifurcated. Th a l a has generally been regarded as its modern representative, but General Cunningham would "almost certainly" identify it with N i r a n k o l or H a i d a r a bād, of which P a t a l n e r and P a t a l i n a ("hot rock") were old appellations. With regard to the name P a t a l a he suggests that "it may have been derived from P a t o l a , the trumpet flower" (H i p p o n i a s s u r a c o l o r a ), "in allusion to the trumpet shape of the province included between the eastern and western branches of the mouth of the Indus, as the two branches as they approach the sea curve outward like the mouth of a trumpet." Ritter, however, says: "P a t a l a is the designation bestowed by the B h a r a h a n s on all the provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to P u s i a l a k a , the eastern realm, in Ganges-land; for P a t h o s is the mytho-

logical name in Sanscrit of the under-world, and consequently of the land of the west." Arrian's estimate of the magnitude of the Delta is somewhat erroneous. The length of its bay, from the Pātā to the four mouths, was less than 1000 stadia, while that of the Egyptian Delta was 1300.
under did not penetrate beyond the river Hyphasis, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges and the parts near its mouths and the city of Pahlimbothra, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the Ganges.

III. I shall now state the dimensions of India, and in doing so let me follow Eratosthenes of Cyrene as the safest authority, for this Eratosthenes made its circuit a subject of special inquiry. 9 He states, then, that if a line be drawn from Mount Taurus, where the Indus has its springs, along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India will measure 13,000 stadia.† But the contrary side, which diverges from the same point of Taurus and runs along the Eastern Sea, he makes of a much different length, for there is a headland which projects far out into the

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9 Schneider, from whose text I translate, has here altered (perhaps unnecessarily) the reading of the MSS. from τῆς περιφέρειας to τῆς περιπέτειας. The measurements given by Strabo are more accurate than those of Arista. They are, however, not at all wide of the mark; General Cunningham, indeed, remarks that the close agreement with the actual size of the country is very remarkable, and shows, he adds, that the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land.

† The Olympic stadium, which was in general use throughout Greece, contained 600 Greek feet = 625 Roman feet, or 202 English feet. The Roman mile contained eight stadiums, being about half a stadium less than an English mile. The stadion (mentioned below) was 240 Persian parasanges = 280 stadia, but was generally taken at half that length.
sea, and this headland is in length about 3,600 stadia. The eastern side of India would thus by his calculation measure 16,000 stadia, and this is what he assigns as the breadth of India. The length, again, from west to east as far as the city of Pāli m b o t h a he sets down, he says, as it had been measured by such, since there existed a royal highway, and he gives it as 16,000 stadia. But as for the parts beyond they were not measured with equal accuracy. Those, however, who write from mere hearsay allege that the breadth of India, inclusive of the headland which projects into the sea, is about 10,000 stadia, while the length measured from the east is about 20,000 stadia. But Ἐρίκους of Ἱπποδος says that India equals in size all the rest of Asia, which is absurd; while Ὀνέσικριτος as absurdly declares that it is the third part of the whole earth. Ἐρίκους, again, says that it takes a journey of four months to traverse even the plain of India; while Ἰδεγαστῆς, who calls the breadth of India its extent from east to west, though others call this its length, says that where shortest the breadth is 16,000 stadia, and that its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is, where narrowest, 24,000 stadia. But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the Ganges and the Indus, from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than
the Egyptian Nile and the Skythian Ister even if their streams were united into one. I think, too, that even the Akēsinēs is greater than either the Ister or the Nile where it joins the Indus after receiving its tributaries the Hydaspēs and the Hyd라tēs, since it is at that point so much as 300 stadia in breadth. It is also possible that there are even many other larger rivers which take their course through India.

IV. But I am unable to give with assurance of being accurate any information regarding the regions beyond the Hyphasis, since the progress of Alexander was arrested by that river. But to recur to the two greatest rivers, the Gaṅges and the Indus. Μegasθenēs states that of the two the Gaṅges is much the larger, and other writers who mention the Gaṅges agree with him; for, besides being of ample volume even where it issues from its springs, it receives as tributaries the river Kaīnas, and the Eranoβoas, and the Kossoanōs, which are all navigable. It receives, besides, the river Sonos and the Sittōkatis, and the Soβomatis, which are also navigable, and also the Kommanassēs, a great river, and the Kākouthis, and the Anδomatis, which flows from the dominions of the Mādyāndinai, an Indian tribe. In
In addition to all these, the Amystis, which flows past the city Kata dupa, and the Oxy marginis from the dominions of a tribe called the Pazalai, and the Erminyas from the Mathai, an Indian tribe, unite with the Ganges.

I. Arrian here enumerates seventeen tributaries of the Ganges. The number is given as nineteen by Pliny, who adds the Prima and the dominions, which Arrian elsewhere (chap. viii) mentions under the name of the Jolava. These tributaries have been nearly all identified by the researches of such learned men as Kuncel, Wilford, Wickes, Lowen, and Schwanfeld. M. de St.-Martin, in reviewing their conclusions, shows up a few points which they had left in doubt, or wherein he thinks they had erred. I shall now show how each of the nineteen tributaries has been obtained.

Kolna.—This has been identified with the Kuma, or Kuna, which, however, is only indirectly a tributary of the Ganges, as it falls into the Jamuna. The Sanskrit name of the Kuma is Sana, and Schwanfeld (p. 36) objects to the identification that the Greeks invariably represent the Sanskrit by their n, and never by an. St.-Martin attaches no importance to this objection, and gives the Sanskrit equivalent as Kolna.

Ernowhion—As Arrian informs us (chap. x) that Palimbotra (Pataliputra, Peshaw) was situated at the confluence of this river with the Ganges, it must be identified with the river Sana, which formerly joined the Ganges a little above Bandarp, the western suburb of Peshaw, from which its embouchure is now 10 miles distant and higher up the Ganges. The word no doubt represents the Sanskrit Urmavati (carrying gold) or Urmavatita (carrying gold) areas, which are both poetical names of the Son. Moreton, however, and Arrian, both make the Brahmaputra and the Son to be distinct rivers, and hence some would identify the former with the Gandra (Sanskrit Gandra), which, according to Lassen, was called by the Buddhista Urmavati, or the golden. It is, however, too small a stream to suit the description of the Brahmaputra, that it was the largest river in India after the Ganges and Indus. The Son, not perhaps in the time of Megasthenes, have joined the Ganges by two channels, which he may have mistaken for separate rivers.
Regarding their streams, Magonos asserts that none of them is inferior to the Nile.

**Kossoz:**—Commonly, in the form of the name in Pigna, and hence it has been taken to belong to the district of the same name in the province of the same name. Nevertheless, however, I adopt the name of the Kossoz, I declare, from the mouth of the Kossoz, which is the same mouth as that in Egypt, for this view of Archaic in its agreement with the Kossoz between the Kossoz and Egypt.

**Sapan:**—The name of a river which joins the Egyptian Nile, the name which is supposed to be a combination of the Kossoz and a smaller stream, the name which may have been given in honor of the river, its name being yellow, as because they contained gold dust.

**Sisicat:**—It has not been explained what was denoted by this name, but the name which may be the name of the Sisicat, as the name is unknown, has been mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, along with the name of the region (the Med), the Medea (the Medea), and the Medea (the Medea). From which it is evident that it belonged to the northern parts of Egypt.

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**Kossoz:**—For the Kossoz in Saffah, Cundak or Cundak, Cundak or Cundak; because of its abundance in a kind of olive tree, it is obvious that the Kossoz is named after the Kossoz, and the Kossoz is named after the Kossoz, and the Kossoz is named after the Kossoz.
and east, even at the navigable part of its course; and as for the Ganges, it has a breadth where

Magam.—According to Munro and the Bângâ grha, but much more probably the Mahâbali, near the Mahâbali, the principal river of Mangala, which joins the Ganges at the lower Pethik.

Agrasini.—According to Rennell the Ganges—a word derived from the Sanskrit Chânghâra (of purifying sand), but according to St. Martin it must be some one or other of the rivers so abundant in the river non-adnatarium of Northern India. The vulgar form is Cânâra.

Cânâlita has not been identified, but Schickendantz remarks that the word closely agrees with the Sanskrit Vânnita (shaken), a common epithet of rivers.

Komaracina.—Rennell and Lassen identify this with the Karângâra (Bhavana species destructive), a small river which joins the Ganges above Patna. According to a Hindus legend, whoever drank the water of this river bore all the merit of his good works, this being transferred to the nympha of the stream.

Kabha, Kâbh,.—Munro very probably identifies this to be the Gâm.- Lassen identifies it with the Kâlmodita, the Gâlmodita chronicles, and hence with the Kâlmodita, the Baghârati, of Sanskrit.

Abhandhita.—Thought by Lassen to be connected with the Sanskrit Abhandhita (over known), which he would identify, therefore, with the Tâmas or (now the Tons), the two names being identical in meaning; but, as the river rises from the country of the Madhyândita (Sanskrit, Medhâyanda, m. di. Aryan) and is the people of the South.—Wilford's conjecture that the Abhandhita is the Damodara, the river which flows by Barodar, is more likely to be correct. The Sanskrit name of the Damodara is Dharmendra.

Amâsita.—The city Kâtanole, which this river passes, Wilford would identify with Othon or Ootam, in Lower Bengal, which is situated on the western bank of the delta of the Ganges at the confluence of the Yomj. As the Sanskrit form of the name of Katanoleh should be Katanoleh (p. 334, as an island), M. de St. Martin thinks this conjecture has much probability in its favor. The Amâsita may therefore be the Yomj or Yomati as it is called in Sanskrit.

Oxymâg.—The Pamkli or Pamkli, called in Sanskrit Pâmkli, inhabited the Dera, and thence this or the region adjacent flowed the Dâhakrati (abounding in magnesite). Oxymâg is very probably represented th
narrowest of one hundred stadia, while in many places it spreads out into lakes, so that when the country happens to be flat and destitute of elevations the opposite shores cannot be seen from each other. The Indus presents also, he says, similar characteristics. The Hydraotés, flowing from the dominions of the Kambistholi, falls into the Akesinēs after receiving the Hypbasis in its passage through the Astrybai, as well as the Saranges from the Keiniaus, and the Neudros from the Attaenoi. The Hydaspēs again, rising in the dominions of the Oxydrakini, and bringing with it the Sinarios, received in the dominion of the Arispai, falls itself into the Akesinēs, while the Akesinēs joins the Indus in the dominions of the Mallo, but not until it has received the waters of a great

name, since the letters Π and Τ in Greek could readily be confounded. The form of the name in Megasthenes may have been Oxyaneis.

Errynais closely corresponds to Varanasī, the name of Bāndakī in Baudhāṇī — so called from the rivers Vārāna and As, which join the Ganges in its neighbourhood. The Matthai, it has been thought, may be the people of Magadha. St.-Martin would fix their position in the time of Megasthenes in the country between the lower part of the Ganges and the Ganges, adding that as the Journal of Queen Victoria places their capital, Māṭipura, at a little distance to the east of the upper Ganges near Gāndhāvara, now Hardwār, they must have extended their range and dominion by the traveller's time far beyond their original bounds. The Prīna, which Arrian has omitted, St.-Martin would identify with the Tānsālī, which is otherwise called the Parnīsiā, and belongs to the same part of the country as the Keiniaus, in connexion with which Pliny mentions the Prīsa.
tributary, the **Toutapos**. Augmented by all these confluent the **Akēsinês** succeeds in imposing its name on the combined waters, and still retains it till it unites with the **Indus**.

The **Kōphen**, too, falls into the **Indus**, rising in **Penkelaítis**, and bringing with it the **Malantes**, and the **Sonastos**, and the **Garroia**. Higher up than these, the **Parenoi** and **Saparnoi**, at no great distance from each other, empty themselves into the **Indus**, as does also the **Sonanos**, which comes without a tributary from the hill-country of the **Abyssareans**.

§ Tributaries of the **Indus**—Arrian has been named only 13 tributaries of the **Indus** (in Sanskrit Sindhu, in the *Purāṇas* of the Ṛṣi 마음새, but in his *Abiuran* (v. 67) he states that the number was 19, which is also the number given by Strabo. They reckoned them at 19.

**Hydrasotês**—Other forms are *Roucasith* and *Hypanis*. It is now called the Ṛši, the name being a contraction of the Sanskrit *Airavati*, which means 'abounding in water', or 'the daughter of Airavat', the elephant of **Indra**, who is said to have generated the river by striking his tusk against the rock whence it issues. Its name has reference to his 'mammal' origin. The name of the **Kambuthulai** does not occur elsewhere. **Schwanbœck** (p. 31) conjectures that it may represent the Sanskrit *Kuspithēne*, 'ocean', the letter μ being inserted, as in *Painbolken*. He rejects Wilson's suggestion that the people may be identical with the Kauleboi. Arrian seems in making the *Hypanis* tributary of the *Hydrasotês*, for it falls into the *Ayakhis* below its junction with that river. See on this point St.-Martin, *Eth._, p. 396.

**Hypanis** (other forms are *Rhousis, Hypanis, and Hypanis*)—In Sanskrit the *Vipinata*, and now the *Pyassa* or *Bias*. It lost its name on being joined by the *Satadru*, 'the hundred-chombed', the *Zambras* of *Ptolemy*, now the *Satlaj*. The *Astrabhala* are not mentioned by any writer except Arrian.

**Sarangas**—According to **Schwanbœck**, this word represents the Sanskrit *Saranga*, 'symbol'. It is not known what river it designated. The **Kokas**, through
According to Megasthenes, most of these rivers are navigable. We ought not, therefore, to whose country it flowed, were called in Sanskrit, according to Lassen, Shataya.

Nairi is not known. The Atakii or Areki are likewise unknown, unless their name is another form of Atraksho.

Hyphasis.—Bhabha is the form in Paharia, which makes a nearer approach to the Sanskrit name—the Vikasa. It is now the Bahlul or Jeholam called also by the inhabitants on its banks the Bahlustan, "widely spoken" is the "Bahlom Hypocrite" of Horaeus, and the "Beulah" (or Eastern Hyphasis) of Virgil. It formed the western boundary of the dominions of Huan.

Aekanta.—Now the Chahsii; its Sanskrit name Ajaka (Unscathed) is met with in the hymns of the Vedas. It was called afterwards Chambalbhai (partis cæsii). This would be converted to Cohn by Sanskrit scholars—a word in sound so like Antelope or Anteloaplien (liberator of Alexander) that the followers of the great conqueror claimed the name to avoid the evil name—the more so, perhaps, on account of the disaster which befell the Macedonian fleet at the turbulent junction of the river with the Hyphasis. Paharia gives its name as Shabha (Shahbaba) by an error on the part of copyists, which is apparent in the pronunciation of the Prakrit Chambal, of which word the Ctenomy of Piny is a greatly altered form. The Muli, in whose country this river joins the Himalayas, the Nahura of Sanskrit, whose name is preserved in the Malwa of the present day.

Tantapu.—Probably the lower part of the Satpura or Sahya.

Kopasa.—Another form of the name, used by Strabo, is Kopasa, this is now the Kabul river. The three rivers here named as its tributaries probably correspond to the Suvast, Gauri, and Kamaa a mentioned in the 6th book of the Arthasastra. The Suvast is no doubt the Swat and the Gaurus the Gami. Gurnis and Strabo call the Satnas the Chanaa. According to Ahimsa the Satnas and the Gurus or Gauris were identical. Lassen, however (in. Alterthumsk., 2nd ed. I. 1683 #), would identify the Satnas with the modern Swat or Suv, and the Gurus with the tributary the Panjnarwa and this is the view adopted by Cunningham. The Mahanath or Konna would identity with the Ghogra (mentioned by Arica, Arunachala, in 28), which is probably represented by the Suv, or Konna, the longest of the tributaries of the
district what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison greater than the Ister and the Nile. In the case of the Nile we know that it does not receive any tributary, but that, on the contrary, in its passage through Egypt its waters are drawn off to fill the canals. As for the Ister, it is but an insignificant stream at its sources, and though it no doubt receives many conductors, still there are neither equal in number to the conductors of the Indus and

Kābul; others, however, with the Pacykram, while Cunningham takes it to be the Bàra, a tributary which joins the Kābul from the south. With regard to the name Kāpho, this author remarks:—‘The name of Kāpho is as old as the time of the Veda, in which the Kābul river is mentioned [Roth first pointed this out—conf. Lassen, et seq.] as an affluent of the Indus; and, as it is not an Aryan name, I infer that the name must have been applied to the Kābul river before the Aryan conquest, or at least as early as 2500. In the classical writers we find the Chãoe, Kāpho, and Chau apu river to the west of the Indus; and at the present day we have the Kāna, the Kurām, and the Gomul rivers to the west and the Kūrānār river to the east of the Indus, all of which are derived from the Aṣṇā in, ‘water.’ It is the etymological form of the Aryan Aṣṇā in ‘destroyed’ and ‘Polluted’, and of the Turkish Aṣna and Tishna, all of which mean ‘water’ or ‘river.’ Probably the Geography mentions a city called Kāpho, situated on the banks of the Kāpho, and a people called Kāphon, Kāphon. 

Pārīzān.—Probably the modern Badīmān.

Sagāna.—Probably the Aḥbānān. Sagāna represents the Sanskrit Sāgara, ‘the sea,’ or ‘fire’—now the Sāman. The Aṣṇāsāsā from whose country it comes, may be the Abānā of Shāhristān, Lohit, 116, H. I., 614. A king called Aḥbānān is mentioned by Arrian in his Indica (v. 7). It may be here remarked that the name of the Indian fire, as given by the Hindu sects, were in reality the name slightly modified of the people over whom they ruled.
Ganges, nor are they navigable like them, if we except a very few,—as, for instance, the Ium, and Save which I have myself seen. The Iun joins the later where the Noricans march with the Rheticans, and the Save in the dominions of the Pannonians, at a place which is called Taurunum. Some one may perhaps know other navigable tributaries of the Danube, but the number certainly cannot be great.

V. Now if anyone wishes to state a reason to account for the number and magnitude of the Indian rivers let him state it. As for myself I have written on this point, as on others, from hearsay; for Megasthenes has given the names even of other rivers which beyond both the Ganges and the Indus pour their waters into the Eastern Ocean and the outer basin of the Southern Ocean, so that he asserts that there are eight-and-fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even Megasthenes, so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip, for, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandrakottos, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Pəros, who was still greater than he. This same Megasthenes then informs us that the Indians neither invade other men, nor do other men invade the

|| Taurunum. The modern Sirmium.
Indians: for Sesostris the Egyptian, after having overthrown the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthyrsos the Scythian issuing from Scythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design: and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country.

And regarding Dionysos many traditions are current to the effect that he also made an expedition into India, and subdued the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Herakles' tradition does not say much. Of the expedition, however, which Bakkhos led, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, while Mount Meros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysos. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Herakles, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Herakles was not able to take the rock Aornos, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Makedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling Parapamisos—Kaukasos, though it had no connexion at all with Kaukas—
called after the river, through the dominions of the Silvanus, who again are called after the river and the fountain; the water of the river manifests this singular property—that there is nothing which it can buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that there is nothing in the world so thin and unsubstantial as this water. But to proceed. Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains Parapamos and Modos and the range of Imnos, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged; and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of midsummer to retreat in haste from the Akesinδ, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plains. So we may by analogy infer from these facts that as the Nile is subject to similar inundations, it is probable that rain falls during the summer on the mountains of Ethiopia, and that the Nile swollen with these rains overflows its banks and inundates Egypt. We find, at any rate, that this river, like those we have mentioned, flows at the same season of the year with a muddy current, which could not be the case if it flowed from melting snows, nor yet if its waters were driven back from its

* See ante, p. 45.
mouth by the force of the Etesian winds, which blow throughout the hot season, and that it should flow from melting snow is all the more unlikely as snow cannot fall upon the Ethiopian mountains, on account of the burning heat; but that rain should fall on them, as on the Indian mountains, is not beyond probability, since India in other respects besides is not, unlike Ethiopia. Thus the Indian rivers, like the Nile in Ethiopia and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile, with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though Onesikritos asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the Ethiopians, though the Indians, no doubt, who live in the south-west bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the Ethiopians, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they are not so snub-nosed nor have the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person liker the Egyptians.

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenes tells us, number in all 118. [And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he...}

† Cf. Herodotus, II. 20-27.
arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes. He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Skythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Skythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were called in Indian speech tala, and that there grew on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionysos into India. Dionysos, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemos, when he was sent by Demeter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionysos who came to India before Triptolemos, and gave the people the seeds of

† Τάλα.—The fan-palm, the Borassus fabelliformis of India.
cultivated plants. It is also said that Dionysos first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionysos himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyr dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the Kordax; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with ungents, so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most conversant with Bakkhat matters, to be the king of the country. When Spatembas died his son Bondyas succeeded to the sovereignty; the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was Kradeuas, duly inherited the kingdom, and thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit; Héraclés, however, who is currently reported to have come as a stranger into the country, is said to have been in reality a native.
of India. This Hērakles is held in special honour by the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe who possess two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora, and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Lobares. But the dress which this Hērakles wore, Megasthenēs tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hērakles, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pāndaina, and the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hērakles entrusted her, was called after her name, Pāndaina, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Hērakles that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring us their wares eagerly buy up and carry away to foreign markets, while it is even more eagerly bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue margarita. But Hērakles, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to
he brought from all the sea into India, that he
might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megastrænus informs us that the oyster which
yields this pearl is there fished for with nets,
and that in these same parts the oysters live in
the sea in shoals like bee-swarms: for oysters, like
bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is
lucky enough to catch the king he readily en-
closes in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if
the king makes his escape there is no chance that
the others can be caught. The fishermen allow
the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot
away, and keep the bone, which forms the orna-
ment: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its
weight in refined gold, gold being a product of
the Indian mines.

IX. Now in that part of the country where
the daughter of Hérakles reigned as queen, it is
said that the women when seven years old are of
marriageable age, and that the men live at most
forty years, and that on this subject there is
a tradition current among the Indians to the
effect that Hérakles, whose daughter was born
to him late in life, when he saw that his end
was near, and he knew no man his equal in
rank to whom he could give her in marriage,
had incestuous intercourse with the girl when
she was seven years of age, in order that
a race of kings sprung from their common
blood might be left to rule over India; that
Hérakles therefore made her of suitable age to
...and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandata reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Heracles could have done a thing so marvellous, he could also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men’s age—that those who live longest die at forty; for men who come so much sooner to old age, and with old age to death, must of course flower into full manhood as much earlier as their life ends earlier. It follows hence that men of thirty would there be in their green old age, and young men would at twenty be past puberty, while the stage of of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenes declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionysos to Sandrakottos the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The

§ It is not known from what source Megasthenes derived these figures, which are extremely much when compared with those of Indian chronology, where, as its calendar years are hardly reckoned but in myriads. For a notice of
Indians also tell us that Dionysos was earlier than Herakles by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Kyrros the son of Kambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Skythians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood, for were they built of brick they would not last long—so destructive are the rains, and also the rivers when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains; those cities, however, which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud. The greatest city in India is

the Magadha dynasty see Elphinstone's History of India, bk. III, cap. iii.
that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians,|| where the streams of the Erannobas and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannobas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes says further of this city that the inhabited part of it stretched on either side to an extreme length of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six plethra in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with five hundred and seventy towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this

|| The Prasians.—In the notes which the reader will find at pp. 9 and 57, the accepted explanation of the name Prasioi, by which the Greeks designated the people of Magadha, has been stated. General Cunningham explains it differently:—"Strabo and Pliny," he says, "agree with Arrian in calling the people of Pulibothra by the name of Prasili, which modern writers have unanimously referred to the Sanscrit Prachya, or 'eastern.' But it seems to me that Prasi is only the Greek form of Puliba or Pulas, which is an actual and well-known name of Magadha, of which Puliba was the capital. It obtained this name from the Pulibas, or Hutas prandanas, which still grows luxuriantly in the province as in the time of Hiwen Thieing. The common form of the name is Prasi, or when quickly pronounced Pras, which I take to be the true original of the Greek Prasii. This derivation is supported by the spelling of the name given by Curtius, who calls the people Parthia, which is an almost exact transcript of the Indian name Parthiya. The Prasikos of Alkian is only the derivative from Puliska."
remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The

form of Philippians, the name of the ancient capital of Macedon, and a name still occasionally applied to the city of Thess., which is its modern representative. The

world, which means the one of the temperaments (byname), appears in several different forms. A pro-

vissial form, Philippiens, is common in the popular

time. The form in the Nestorians is Philippi, which

Wilkinson (Illyria) in the Poioi Indian (Geokos) considered

to be the true original name of the city of which Phil-

ippi was an exception—sanctioned, however, by com-

mon usage. In a manuscript, known as a copy of 12

seventeen, as stated by Magnesius, and of the inscription of *Oebas* at

Greek it is written Philippum. The name of the

place according to the Aristotelian was *Philippum*, as having

been founded by Philip, the father of the famous "rider" of

Philip, who is also called, especially by the poets, Phil-


depoteum or Kastaneete, which has the same meaning—the

city of *Philippus*. Taking, through the best edition of all

the greater capitals in Greece, *Philippus* was the name of

many cities, including that of

The name of the

city of Thessalonica, as stated by the

inscription of *Oebas* at

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The name of the

city of Thessalonica, as stated by the
I Lakedaimonians and the Indians here so far agree. The Lakedaimonians, however, hold

...
the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

XI. But further: in India the whole people

appeared that their shape must have differed from that of those now in use. One of the wells having been cleared out, it was found to yield a useful drinking water, and making the rubbish taken out of it were discovered several iron spear-heads, a fragment of a large vessel, &c. The fact thus established—that old Palibothra, and its wall with it, are deep underground—takes away all probability from the supposition of Rathnavar that the large mounds near Pitha (called Panch-Pahari, or 'five hills'), consisting of debris and bricks, may be the remains of towers or buildings of the ancient city. The identity of Pataliputra with Pitha was a question not settled without much previous controversy. D'Arville, as has been already stated, misled by the assertion of Playfair that the Jumna (Jamna) flows through the Pataliputra into the Ganges, referred its site to the position of Allahabad, where these two rivers unite. Reclus, again, thought it might be identical with Kanaur, though he afterwards abandoned this opinion; while Wilford placed it on the left bank of the Ganges at some distance to the north of Rishabandha and Franklin at Bhagalpur. The main objection to the claims of Pitha—its not being situated at the confluence of any river with the Ganges—was satisfactorily disposed of when in the course of research it was found that the Sina was not only identical with the Jamna but, but that up to the year 1770, when it formed a new channel for itself, it had joined the Ganges in the neighborhood of Pitha. I may conclude this notice by quoting from Strabo a description of a procession such as Mogul Emperors from whose court Strabo very probably drew his information, must have seen parading thousands of Palibothra:—'In processions at their festivals many elephants are in the train, adorned with gold and silver, numerous carriages drawn by four horses and by several pairs of oxen; then follows a body of attendants in full dress, (bearing) vessels of gold, large vases and goblets adorned in brooches, tables, chairs of state, drinking-cups, and slices of Indian copper, most of which were set with precious stones, as emeralds, beryls, and Indian sapphires; garlands embroidered and interspersed with gold; wild beasts, as buffaloes, panthers, tigers, lions; and a multitude of birds of various size, plumage, and of fine song.'—Bohn's Transl. of Strabo, I. I. p. 117.
are divided into about seven castes. Among these are the Sophists, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If any one, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sophists shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sophist is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if any one fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under large trees, the shadow where-
of Neapth, says extends to five plethra in circuit, adding that even ten thousand men could be covered by the shadow of a single tree. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most numerous classes of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands: hence, while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and mead-herds; and these neither live in cities nor in

* Otho, description of the same tree quoted from Otho, Selection, p. 6, 21. Otho, Allia, description of a tree of the India, A.D. 1000, p. 29.

Though they chase
The fatted, and the fat, kind for fruit renowned,
But such as this day to Indians given
In Malabar or Deccan, prove, increased
By something of good and here that in the grove,
The banded waggle the cow, and dauntless crow
About the mother tree, a glossy shank
High crowned, and behold each walk between.
villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They too are subject to tribute, and this they pay in cattle. They scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handi- 
craft men and retail-dealers. They have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They have only military duties to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. As long as they are required to fight they fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can with ease maintain themselves and others besides.

The sixth class consists of those called superintendents. They spy out what goes
on in country and town, and report everything
to the king where the people have a king, and
to the magistrates where the people are self-
governed,† and it is against use and wont for
those to give in a false report;—but indeed no
Indian is accused of lying.

The seventh caste consists of the coun-
ellers of state, who advise the king, or the
magistrates of self-governed cities, in the man-
agement of public affairs. In point of numbers
this is a small class, but it is distinguished by
superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys
the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of
provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of
the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of
the navy, controllers, and commissioners who
supervise rural agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits inter-
marrriage between the castes:—for instance, the
husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan
caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husband-
man caste. Custom also prohibits any one from
exercising two trades, or from changing from one
caste to another. One cannot, for instance,
become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or

† "There have always been extensive tracts without any
common head, some under petty chiefs, and some formed
of independent villages; in troublous times, also towns
have often for a long period carried on their own govern-
ment. All these would be called republics by the Greeks,
who would naturally fancy their constitutions similar to
what they had seen at home."—Elphinstone’s History of
India, p. 240
become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is permitted that the sophist only be from any caste: for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the hardest of all.

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any others. The mode may be thus described:—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground dig a trench all round it, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their prey approaches and enters the enclosure. They next station some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants within the trap, to which they leave only a single passage by means of a bridge thrown across the trench, the framework of which they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, retiring to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. Now the
wild elephants do not go near inhabited places in the day-time, but during the night-time they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, and hear the cry and catch scent of the females, they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench more round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but, though they ride up to it, they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till these are sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst; when they think their strength has been enough weakened, they set up the bridge anew and ride into the enclosure, when a fierce assault is made by the tame elephants upon those that have been entrapped, and then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the feet of the wild ones, now by this time quite
exhausted. Then they instigate the tame ones to beat them with repeated blows, until their sufferings wear them out and they fall to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while yet lying on the ground; and, to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, make with a sharp knife an incision all round their neck, and fasten the noose round in the incision. By means of the wound thus made they keep their head and neck quite steady: for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. They shun, therefore, violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, suffer themselves to be led in fetters by the same ones.

XIV. But such as are too young, or through the weakness of their constitution not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which are retained they lead to the villages, where at first they give them green stalks of corn and grass to eat. The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have taken up their riders when slain in battle and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a
hotel.s have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he bent in turn the cymbal on his trunk he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.

The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.
XV. But the tiger the Indians regard as a much more powerful animal than the elephant. Nearchus tells us that he had seen the skin of a tiger, though the tiger itself he had not seen. The Indians, however, informed him that the tiger equals in size the largest horse, but that for swiftness and strength no other animal can be compared with it; for that the tiger, when it encounters the elephant, leaps upon the head of the elephant and strangles it with ease; but that those animals which we ourselves see and call tigers are but jackals with spotted skins and larger than other jackals.† In the same way with regard to ants also, Nearchus says that he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort which other writers declared to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Macedonian camp. But Megasthenes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no ex-

† Leopards are meant.
acter information to give I willingly dismiss the
subject of the ant.§ But about parrots Nea r-
chos writes as if they were a new curiosity, 
and tells us that they are indigenous to India, 
and what-like they are, and that they speak with 
a human voice; but since I have myself seen 
many parrots, and know others who are acquaint-
ced with the bird, I will say nothing about it as if 
it were still unfamiliar.† Nor will I say aught of 
the apes, either touching their size, or the beauty 
which distinguishes them in India, or the mode 
in which they are hunted, for I should only be 
staking what is well known, except perhaps the 
fact that they are beautiful. Regarding snakes, 
too, Nea rchos tells us that they are caught in 
the country, being spotted, and nimble in their 
movements, and that one which Pe i tho the 
son of Antigonus caught measured about sixteen 
cubits, though the Indians allege that the largest 
snakes are much larger. But no cure of the bite 
of the Indian snake has been found out by any 
of the Greek physicians, though the Indians, it 
is certain, can cure those who have been bitten.¶ 
And Nearchos adds this, that Alexan der had 
all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing 
art collected around him, and had caused procla-
mation to be made throughout the camp that if

§ See notes to pp. 94 and 96.
¶ Greek exagelis pettaco eunv XAIkE.—Persian, Peri-
to Sat. i. 8.
¶ This is, unfortunately, one of the lost arts.
any one were bitten he should repair to the royal tent; but these very same men were able to cure other diseases and pains also. With many bodily pains, however, the Indians are not afflicted, because in their country the seasons are genial. In the case of an attack of severe pain they consult the sophists, and these seemed to cure whatever diseases could be cured not without divine help.\

XVI. The dress worn by the Indians is made of cotton, as Niechias tells us.—cotton produced from those trees of which mention has already been made.† But this cotton is either of a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere, or the darkness of the Indian complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter. They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head.‡ The Indians wear

† That is, by the use of dyes: see Strabo XV. 1. 42.
‡ A slip on the part of Arran, as no previous mention has been made of the cotton-tree.
§ The valuable properties of the cotton-wool produced from the cotton-arch (Linum, or berceanus) were early discovered. And we read in the Sanskrit hymn of 'Day and Night' like 'two famous sacred wovens' interwoven the extended thread. . . . Cotton in its manufactured state was new to the Greeks who accompanied Alexander the Great to India. They describe Hindus as clad in garments made from wool which knows no tears. One cloth, they say, reaches to the middle of the leg, whilst another is folded round the shoulders. Hindus still dress in the fashion thus described, which is also allowed to in old Sanskrit literature. In the frescoes on the caves of Ajanta this costume is carefully represented . . . . The cloth which Niechias speaks of as reaching to the middle of the
also earrings of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them. Their beards, Ne a r ch o s tells us, they dye of one hue and another, according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible, but others dye them blue; while some again prefer a red tint, some a purple, and others a rank green.§ Such Indians, he also says, as are thought anything of, use parasols as a screen from the heat. They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the taller.

I proceed now to describe the mode in which the Indians equip themselves for war, premising that it is not to be regarded as the only one in vogue. The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three

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§ Perhaps some of these colours were but transition shades assumed by the dye before settling to its final hue. The readers of Warren's Ten Thousand a Year will remember the plight of the hero of the tale when having dyed his hair he found it, church-like, hanging from hue to hue. This custom is mentioned also by Strabo.
yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot, — neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called sanma, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp: if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider, then, pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins.

XVII. The Indians are in person slender and tall, and of much lighter weight than other men.
The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants,—for it is the elephant which in India carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third; while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all. But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the sex that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant. They marry without either giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other mainly exercise. The people of India live upon grain, and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase.

[1] Hence one of his names is Vänu, implying that he not only carries but protects his royal rider.
* The cîka, so common in the north-west of India, is no doubt here indicated.
* Marriage customs appear to have varied, as a reference to the extract from Strabo pp. 70-71 will show. See Winikler's History of India, pp. 107-8.
It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both Nearcho and Megasthenes, two men of approved character, have recorded. And since my design in drawing up the present narrative was not to describe the manners and customs of the Indians, but to relate how Alexander conveyed his army from India to Persia, let this be taken as a mere episode.